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PUBLIC SUPPORT OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN NEW YORK, 1825-1842: SOME NEW ASPECTS*

By

Henry J. Browne

Most important historical questions and episodes and, of course, personages are looked at anew at least once in each generation. Sometimes the present sheds the light of new interpretation on the past while at other times new light from the past itself is discovered. The agitation which took place after 1825 and which culminated in the famous New York school controversy of 1841 is a case in point. Although recently studied very capably, this phase of New York Catholic history in the days of Bishop John Dubois (1826-1842) deserves to be examined again if only to show the sameness of today's new problems with those of over a century ago and to stress three heretofore unexplored aspects of it.[1] First, very little has been written to date of the conditions which forestalled effective action under Bishop Dubois; secondly, only passing allusion has been given to the immediate background, which was the division of the Catholic body in

* In substance this article was delivered as a lecture before the annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York on November 18, 1952. Father Browne, archivist and assistant professor of history in the Catholic University of America, is engaged in writing the biography of Archbishop Hughes.

[1] The latest study is that of Edward M. Connors, *Church-State Relationships in Education in the State of New York* (Washington, 1951). Two earlier ones —written independently—were made by Sister Marie Léonore Fell, "Bishop Hughes and the Common School Controversy," unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America (June, 1936), which covers in its totality what Father Connors covered in his first two chapters, and Gregory B. Smith,

early 1840; and, finally, sources have been wanting on the intimate part of Governor William H. Seward in the public struggle and the legislative accommodation of 1842.

The Diocese of New York was fourteen years old and, in its adolescent way, still unable to provide for itself when Bishop Dubois took over its rule in 1826. In fact, its need of a seminary—one of the major concerns of Dubois' administration—had been advised in vain by Rome almost ten years before.[2] In the period of Bishop John Connolly, O.P. (1815-1825), before him for nearly two years under an administrator, Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., and even when this area was part of the jurisdiction of Archbishop John Carroll, the Diocese of New York had been characterized by turbulence. The Baltimore metropolitan, Ambrose Maréchal, S.S., in 1819 gave a simplified explanation of the trouble in claiming that eight out of ten Irish priests who came to the United States had their heads turned by their newly found liberty. Even the protest of the faithful against the foreign accented preaching of their pastors was regarded by this French-born prelate as only a pretext.[3] By 1820 in New York City the situation was such that the approximately 25,000 Catholics, most of whom were Irish, were threatened by a factional division along pro-bishop and anti-bishop lines.[4] This flock continued to increase, even though

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"The Public School Controversy of 1840," unpublished master's dissertation, Columbia University (1936). Although the story has often been retold the only other investigation that goes outside the traditional sources is that of Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (New York, 1938), in the chapter, "Saving the Children for Protestantism, 1840-1844," pp. 142-165, which naturally covers particularly its connection with the rise of Nativism. The most readily available sources have been John R. G. Hassard, *Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes, D.D.* (New York, 1866), pp. 223-251, and the very full coverage of public statements in Lawrence Kehoe (Ed.), *Complete Works of the Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D.,* (New York, 1865), I, 41-287.

[2] Archives of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Lettere, vol. 298, Congregation to John Connolly, Rome, September 20, 1817. Hereafter this archives will be designated APF. This Roman material is on microfilm in the Guilday Collection in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, The Catholic University of America.

[3] APF, Acta, 1821, Maréchal to Cardinal Litta, Baltimore, September 18, 1819; Scritture riferite, Amer. cent., vol. 4, James Neil to Giovanni Grassi, New York, February 10, 1820. Cf. Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927), I, 18, 21.

[4] APF, Acta, 1821, *Ristretto delle contestazioni insorte nella Chiesa della Nuova York tra li Fabbricieri (detti con altro vocabolo Trustees) ed i loro*

in 1826 it was being served by only four priests and its three churches labored under debts. Its trouble had its origin with the lay trustees who were supposed to handle the temporal affairs of the congregations. They had plagued Connolly, and Dubois also found them solidly entrenched and grown accustomed to interfering in the prerogatives of the bishop concerning appointments of priests. These laymen usually formed factions, even in opposition to the ruler of the see, behind the priests who were popular with them.[5]

The condition of ecclesiastical New York, as well as the manner of man who came to rule that diocese in the mid-1820's, is certainly pertinent to an understanding of the status of Church-State relations on education in that period. Even to know how Dubois was ever named to New York may illustrate a poverty of worthy candidates for the American episcopacy which in itself did not augur well for forceful leadership in the matter of the schools.

When the Congregation of Propaganda made a search to fill the place of Connolly in 1825, Benedict Fenwick, American-born Jesuit, and John Dubois, French-born president of Mount Saint Mary's College, were given the highest number of votes by the American bishops. Archbishop Maréchal was at first unable to decide between them. Weighing against Dubois was the fact that he was the head of a heavily indebted school which, if he were to depart, might face complete failure.[6] Moreover, it was thought that the Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg needed him badly as their superior. Fenwick was recommended as a good business man with adequate learning and eloquence, but he was believed by some to be of mediocre piety and lacking in proper reverence for the Propaganda and even for the Holy Father. What Maréchal did not know was that Fenwick three months before, in April, 1825, had been named as second Bishop of Boston. Dubois, on the other hand, who had spent thirty-four of his sixty-two years in the United States was considered, as it was expressed, "very pious, not a little learned, eloquent, very amiable in manners, wise

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fautori da una parte, ed il Vescovo Monsignore Connolly ed i di lui aderenti dall'altra (1821).

[5] Cf. Peter Guilday, "Trusteeism," *Historical Records and Studies*, XVIII (March, 1928), on the situation in New York, 1815-1821, pp. 44-73; and Guilday, *England*, I, 426-452, on "Bishop England and the Dissensions in New York (1821-1826)."

[6] APF, Acta, 1826, Maréchal to Propaganda, Baltimore, June 13, 1825.

and prudent, most devoted to the Holy See, conspicuous in zeal and charity."[7] Despite these kind words the Archbishop of Baltimore finally came to favor as first choice, Thomas Gillow, a missionary in England. Gillow quickly dropped into the obscurity of an "also-ran" while two other names, Anthony Kohlmann, then professor of dogma in the Roman College, and Peter Kenney, rector of Clongowes Wood College in Ireland, were vetoed by the Jesuit General, who wanted such outstanding men to remain with the society to strengthen it in its period of revival.[8]

The acuteness of the problem of finding a proper man to be bishop was in itself a reflection of the problems then existing in the See of New York. Adding to the confusion was the candidacy of John Power who had been named administrator of the diocese by Connolly a few days before the latter's death. His name was urged especially by Bishop John England of Charleston—as England was to do even more forcefully in 1837—but Power's lack of experience was cited against him. Dubois, however, received a weighty and effective endorsement from Father Kohlmann, who as a former administrator of New York was seriously heeded in Rome. The Frenchman was praised as one who enjoyed the reputation of being an oracle of prudence and zeal even by his Protestant neighbors. In his recommendation the Jesuit continued: "He is a tireless worker in the service of the Church. For over twelve years he alone did the work not of four but of at least ten, and I should think fortunate the diocese which will receive him as its pastor."[9]

After he became New York's chief pastor in 1826 Dubois' situation made him think of joint episcopal action in the whole country as a source of strength to himself. This proposal was made in the thought that it might be brought about through the medium usually associated with the name of John England, namely, a meeting of all the bishops.

[7] *Ibid.*, Sommario, Num. II, Maréchal to Propaganda, Baltimore, July 15, 1825; Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton and Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), II, 27.

[8] APF, Acta, 1826, Sommario, Num. III, Luigi Fortis, S.J., to Holy Father, n.d.

[9] *Ibid., Ristretto con sommario sulla elezione del Vescovo di Nuova York nei Stati Uniti di America Settentrionale* . . . (1826). Leo XII's approval of the opinion of the congregation was given on April 30, 1826. The same source reveals Maréchal's thought of the Belgian priest then in London, John Nerinckx, as the first possibility and William Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the London

It was a technique that ultimately found its accomplishment in the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829. In such an effort to promote uniformity of discipline Dubois thought it advisable to have a preliminary survey of the ideas of the American bishops on the problems that might be discussed.[10] Another early and related idea for assisting himself in his difficult task in New York was that he should go to Rome; but the Congregation of Propaganda told him to wait until affairs were more settled, since, as they said, "we know even from your own testimony of the lamentable state of the diocese at the present time and we rightly fear that your leaving and long stay away from it might result in an even worse state.[11] Dubois' position was so bad that he could not dare preach the jubilee of 1827 since the preaching and confessions could not be handled correctly. The city had seven priests at that time and Dubois took in three young newly ordained to his own household and with them shared the labor of providing, as he put it, "instructions for the children which had been abandoned, confessions which had been neglected, and service to the hospitals where the poor Irish Catholics, who were crowded there by the hundreds, had been completely forsaken."[12]

Bishop Dubois' pastoral of July, 1827, showed an awareness of the problems he faced, including that of education. He thoroughly understood by that time that his coming to New York had not been as popular as he had supposed from the first welcome.[13] In an effort to meet this opposition he went so far as to deny that any Sulpician plot had seated him in the bishop's chair and professed his right to be con-

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District, turning down Gillow as not adapted to rule a see. This Nerinckx was the brother of the famous Kentucky missioner, Charles Nerinckx. He was to live on until 1855 in his parish in Somerstown, London, where he established the English community of the Society of Faithful Companions of Jesus for the education of the poor. Cf. Camillus P. Maes, *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx* (Cincinnati, 1880), pp. 5, 222. On Kohlmann's influence Bishop England, who was strongly anti-French, later remarked, "The person who got him appointed did not himself know how to manage the American Church." England to Michael O'Connor, Charleston, February 25, 1835, in the Archives of the Irish College in Rome (microfilm copies in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, The Catholic University of America). Hereafter cited as AICR.

[10] Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, hereafter cited as AAB, 15-Y-55, Dubois to Maréchal, New York, December 11, 1826.

[11] APF, Lettere, vol. 308, Propaganda to Dubois, Rome, June 16, 1827, copy.

[12] AAB, 15-Y-56, Dubois to Maréchal, New York, July 16, 1827.

[13] *Ibid.*, 15-Y-54, Dubois to Maréchal, New York, November 24, 1826.

sidered as much an American as any of his critics, notwithstanding his mother tongue. In the many questions upon which he touched Dubois included items on the administration of the sacraments, the problems of orphans and the aged, and the need of funds to support pastors who on retirement should cluster around their bishop and become his cathedral chapter![14] More particularly the bishop endorsed catechism classes in the city and the establishment of church schools. He showed a knowledge of the secular educational picture when he wrote of it at that time:

> Religion cannot be blended with literary instruction. Its name can hardly be mentioned there, or if spoken at all, it is in a general sense which confounds all creeds together and leaves to the people no distinct idea of what they have to believe. This may be called liberality in this age, but it is absolute indifferentism, and will lead at last to irreligion. To prevent this academies and schools should be encouraged throughout the city, but above all a college should be erected, out of the reaches of the vices of the city on the same plan as Emmitsburg.[15]

By 1825, the year before Dubois' arrival in the city, the type of education which he deplored was widespread on the elementary level in New York. A private corporation had begun, under the name of the Free School Society, in 1805, to provide for the education of children not taken care of by any religious group. At the peak of its influence in 1825 this society had succeeded in winning a monopoly on public funds supplied by the state through the city's Common Council. To accomplish this it had to defeat its opponents, led by the Bethel Baptist Church, which like other incorporated societies had been receiving money for its school and which had objected to the society's seeking exclusive control over the education of the children of the poor. By 1826 the group had changed its name to the Public School Society and had increased its insistence on the inculcation of non-sectarian religion in its classes and on the use of the Scriptures as a textbook. Meanwhile, in the face of uneven competition such

[14] He made no public mention of his personal poverty although he later mentioned it privately as a reason for not traveling to Baltimore for the metropolitan's funeral. AAB, 23-F-1, Dubois to "Very Rev. and Dear Sir," New York, February 14, 1828.

[15] *United States Catholic Miscellany* (Charleston), July 28, 1827. Other sections appeared in the July 21 and August 4 issues of Bishop England's paper. John Gilmary Shea took the omission of this pastoral from the *Truth Teller* as a sign of Dubois' difficulties with that paper. *History of the Catholic Church*

charity schools as those at St. Patrick's, St. Peter's, and Transfiguration continued.[16]

A glance at Bishop Dubois' situation would show that he was hardly the one to lead any effort to bring about educational reforms. His priests were divided, for he was at dagger's point with Thomas Levins, one of his more articulate clerics. It was a feud that had begun in 1828 and which finally led to Levins' suspension in 1832.[17] The French-born bishop, by hostile testimony at any rate, could never have inspired his lay flock for the simple reason that he lacked fluency in English. Dr. Power maintained that three dozen out of 3,000 could possibly understand a word of his from the pulpit. Consequently, Power reported, "Hundreds leave the church and actually go into the rum shop while he is speaking."[18] Another consideration was that for over two years Dubois was begging in Europe to promote his all-consuming educational project, a college and seminary—an institution in which elocution and a full-time ecclesiastical training would be emphasized because of the specially urban character of his diocese which demanded more clerical urbanity. This was in effect a change from the Mount Saint Mary's plan which Dubois had fostered at Emmitsburg where the theologians tutored the college students.[19] Meanwhile he faced the continuing struggle with his clergy and their lay trustee factions without as yet the benefit of the teeth of sanctions, since the provincial legislation of 1829 had failed to do anything in that regard. He had missed the first Baltimore council, although he

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in the United States (New York, 1890), III, 198, n. 1. The author of the only later biographical study of any length on Dubois did not think it necessary to accept this assumption. Charles G. Herbermann, "The Rt. Rev. John Dubois, D.D., Third Bishop of New York," *Historical Records and Studies*, I, Part II (January, 1900), 311-312. Edwin Ryan, "John Dubois," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), V, 470-472, added nothing to earlier research.

[16] Cf. Connors, *op. cit.*, in his first chapter, "The Public School Society and Religious Education, 1825-1840," pp. 1-16.

[17] APF, Amer. cent., vol. 6, Power to Bishop Henry Conwell of Philadelphia, New York, August 31, 1828. *Ibid.*, Levins to Conwell, New York, January 31, 1829; Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 505-506.

[18] APF, Amer. cent., vol. 6, Power to Conwell, New York, January 30, 1829.

[19] Herbermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-320, 322; *Truth Teller*, November 26, 1831. His notions on his seminary needs were expressed to the president of Mount Saint Mary's, his old student and the future Bishop of Cincinnati, John Baptist Purcell, University of Notre Dame, Purcell Papers, Dubois to Purcell, New York, December 9, 28, 1831.

had sent his ideas to the archbishop. Later he bewailed the necessity for harsher decrees than those that had been enacted if the bishops were to be enabled to keep the Irish clerics under ecclesiastical control.[20]

During his sojourn in Europe from September, 1829, to November, 1831, Bishop Dubois in explaining his needs did not fail to allude to the educational defects in the diocese. His recitals covered his own pastoral labors, the anti-Catholic tradition in New York, his Indian mission in the northern part of the state, and especially his need of a trained native clergy. He did not mention to his European audiences the possibility of getting state funds for his educational wants but simply praised the work of the Emmitsburg sisters in their school for girls and expressed his desire for religious brothers for the boys. The prelate's dilemma was a real one, for he said of the training of the boys:

> I do not see anything but a distressful future for them. They do not have any alternative but to go to the public schools, conducted in the Lancaster manner, where the name of religion and even more so its teaching is banned, or to go to the only school opened by the trustees of the cathedral. In the latter case the school master is chosen by a vote of the trustees who sometimes are Christians in name only and he is often himself irreligious or at least indifferent in this regard.[21]

Four years later, nonetheless, the Bishop of New York was trying to negotiate with the Public School Society. He was most likely encouraged by the success of the Roman Catholic Benevolent Society. The latter had won the grant of funds for their orphan school in May, 1832, through the Common Council and had done so against the opposition of the school society as well as the directors of the Protestant asylum who had enjoyed this same boon since 1825.[22] Yet the Public School Society continued to grow stronger in its generally unchallenged position and in November, 1834, they could quietly refuse a

[20] AAB, 23-F-2, Dubois to Archbishop James Whitfield, New York, December 17, 1831. Cf. Mother Mary Peter Carthy, O.S.U., *Old St. Patrick's* (New York, 1947), the fourth chapter, "Turbulent Years (1825-1838)," pp. 48-73.

[21] *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyon, 1830), XXII, 461-462, Dubois to the council president, Rome, March 16, 1830.

[22] Connors, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-12. Although the *Truth Teller* was silent at that time, a year earlier it had been surprised at the press hostility at the Catholic petition for the orphans and concluded, "it is not generally known to all that this charity is as extensively distributed by *Catholics* as by any of the most numerous Christians!" May 14, 1831.

request of the bishop without a public outcry on Dubois' part. What the prelate proposed was similar to arrangements that were worked out in Lowell, Massachusetts, and later in the 1870's in the famous Poughkeepsie Plan. He wanted to use a neighboring school building of the society for after-hours religious instruction. He asked also to be allowed to name a Catholic teacher for that post who would be acceptable to the society's trustees and to be permitted to visit the establishment himself. An alternative proposal was simply to the effect that he be enabled to purchase one of the available school houses of the Public School Society at reasonable terms. This new approach was made, he professed, in the cause of reassuring Catholic parents about public education and thus exposing what the bishop called, the "false excuses of those who cover their neglect under the false pretext of religion which they do not practice."[23]

The Public School Society's denial of Dubois' petition had a co-operative ring to it. They not only urged a greater Catholic participation in the society and in the use of their schools, but they also promised to remove any passages objectionable to Catholics in any of the textbooks used by their teachers. The whole negotiation ended on that note. Dubois, a former teacher himself, had already revealed his scepticism about the reform of classroom texts, even when it was a case of trying to make them exclusively Catholic. He thought it would be difficult to carry out any canonical legislation compelling teachers to adopt Catholic books, especially if their schools received any state aid or were controlled by trustees. It was a man who had fled the French Revolution and who had studied the school books who passed a judgment to this effect:

> There is not one good compilation to be had even by the Protestants. Pure compositions including elegant extracts of all kinds of elocution would answer our purpose and would not be objectionable even to Protestants. Historical style, [a] familiar one, dialogues, forensic, & very little poetry—sublime, simple style, excluding all panegyrics of mere politicians, all affected declamations on liberty &c.[24]

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[23] Minutes of the Public School Society, vol. 34 (unpaged), quoted in Connors, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[24] AAB, 24-R-13 [1828]. Although found among material dated 1837 these notes of Dubois on proposed legislation seem from the content to be the ideas sent to Archbishop Whitfield in preparation for the First Provincial Council of Baltimore of 1829. The second and third councils in 1833 and 1837 said nothing on textbooks while the first in its thirty-fifth decree hoped for texts that

Dubois undertook no further action. In the circumstances, perhaps his vicar general, John Power, came close to the truth, when he concluded, "Our good old prelate means well, but unfortunately never does anything right. His time is spent in planning and scheming, but never in executing."[25] Yet Dubois did continue his confirmation trips and canonical visitations across the vast stretches of the diocese.[26] More than that, he gave himself over wholeheartedly to the cause of the Nyack seminary which in 1837 would go up in the smoke of an accidental fire and with it the funds gathered so carefully abroad.[27] The national differences continued with Dubois professing to have heard openly from many Protestants that the Irish complexion of the Church kept them out of it.[28] It was brought out, too, by the trustee trouble at St. Joseph's Church in 1837 that the Frenchman could never lead the predominantly Irish New York flock and that in general he was, as one observer put it, "most unfortunate in the government of that great diocese."[29] Dubois' last appeals for mission aid likewise help to explain his neglect of the school problem. These told of a diocese where there were thirty churches and yet Mass had also to be offered in about fifty private homes. Easter duty was extended through the whole year because of the scarcity of priests and at least a dozen other churches were needed in the city alone for the poverty-stricken flock.[30]

Energy of leadership was obviously required and the man who came to rule had that, and he was Irish besides. Bishop John Hughes showed his mettle very early in beating the trustees on the question

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would be worthy of episcopal approval. *Concilia provincialia* (Baltimore, 1851), p. 84. On the problem of such books, cf. Sister Marie Léonore Fell, *The Foundation of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860* (Washington, 1941).

[25] AICR, Power to Paul Cullen, New York, September 17, 1834.

[26] Cf. Herbermann, *op. cit., passim.*

[27] Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, Dubois to Bishop Joseph Rosati, New York, April 18, 1837. The year 1834 is commonly but erroneously given for this accident.

[28] *Ibid.*, July 7, 1835.

[29] Archives of Stonyhurst College, England, Peter Kenney, S.J., to [?], Dublin, November 9, 1837.

[30] Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (Paris), New York dossiers on microfilm, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, The Catholic University of America, Dubois' report of 1836; *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung* (Vienna, 1837), X, 1-13, Dubois to Archbishop of Vienna, March 15, 1836.

of control of St. Patrick's catechism classes, for it was he who was responsible for Dubois' pastoral of 1839 on that matter.[31] After being made administrator, as well as coadjutor, he likewise took over the planning for a seminary and college and in doing so he first made known his ideas on state support of religious schools. The *Truth Teller,* professing to know his mind, expressed it for him in this fashion:

> A kind of general christianity without the inculcation of any particular doctrine has been imagined as the saving principle whereby the colleges recognized, and in part supported by the state, are to diffuse the blessings of education among the people of all denominations without prejudice to the creed of any. Without enlarging on the *consequences* of this, which public men might do well to reflect on—without suggesting that all christian morals are founded on dogmas, and have no adequate basis to support them without dogmas—that all dogmas in the legislative sense of the term, are necessarily sectarian; and that consequently the conditions supposed in granting bounties to colleges would be, if they really existed, equivalent to a practical exclusion of christianity itself.[32]

The real school controversy of 1841 was, however, in its early phases more that of Catholic New York than it was that of Bishop Hughes. Actually he was in Europe begging when it all began with the annual message of Governor William H. Seward on January 7, 1840, who at that time was not acquainted with Hughes. The governor's concern with the immigrant problem prompted him, after advice from Protestant divines, to foster the use in public education of teachers who professed the same religion and used the same language as the children of the foreign-born whom they would be instructing.[33] The Catholics of the diocese went into action when Father Joseph Schneller of Albany gave the word to Vicar General Power that Albany was ready to be approached. Before the month was over Power brought together in a secret meeting the trustees of all the churches in New York and Brooklyn, a meeting which took place in the vestry room of St. Peter's Church. A petition from the trustees

[31] AAB, Hughes to Archbishop Samuel Eccleston, New York, February 18, 1839.

[32] *Truth Teller,* September 14, 1839.

[33] George E. Baker (Ed.), *The Works of William H. Seward* (Boston, 1884), I, 215.

of seven schools for a share in public funds went at that time through the usual channels of the Common Council.[34]

The story of the first six months, that is, of the efforts preliminary to Bishop Hughes' work, has not been given its proper importance. The Church in New York, practically speaking without benefit of episcopal leadership, worked itself up to enthusiasm over the school problem. The faithful met, listened to, and read in their papers much of what would be the statement of the Catholic position for the following two years. In that half year, too, there came the intrusion of the political issue when the Irish Jacksonians began to suspect the motives behind the new Whig program of friendliness to the foreign-born. Hughes' later allusions are fully understandable only in the light of the Catholic press controversy this situation occasioned in his city before he returned.

In early 1840 the Catholic papers began to agitate the issue in a way that at times suggests ideas and emphases that are current today in writings on the new school question. The *Truth Teller,* edited by a layman, William Denman, took the lead. In its devotion to Jacksonian democracy this weekly paper described itself as differing *in toto* "in political principles with the party which placed Governor Seward in power." Though more political than religious in content, and even more Irish than American in its news coverage, the *Truth Teller* had not been reluctant a short time earlier to praise Seward for the simple act of justice involved in using his position to have a priest permitted to minister to a Catholic convict.[35] This paper was counterbalanced by the *Catholic Register,* established only five months previously by the scholarly and experienced Cuban priest, Felix Varela, as one that would be "exclusively religious."[36]

At the outset both Catholic journals claimed basically to be opposed to Seward's suggested program for the education of the children of the foreign-born. The *Truth Teller* claimed it would give the predominant sect in various districts an overpowering position. It was against legislation touching on religion, and it felt that the literary and even moral training given in the common school could be supplemented along the lines of individual "sectarian" beliefs by parents and pastors.

[34] The *Truth Teller* on February 1, 1840, promised to reveal later what went on but, nonetheless, it praised Power's leadership. Kehoe (Ed.), *op. cit.,* I, 41.

[35] *Truth Teller,* August 3, 1839.

[36] *Catholic Register,* September 21, 1839.

In true Irish-American fashion this journal deplored the thought of using any language but English in the schools as a device that would keep alive distinction that all Americans wanted to see disappear.[37] On this point particularly Father Varela joined with his rival editor. This was in fact a facet of Seward's ideas that was dropped by himself by the time of his next message to the legislature. The *Catholic Register,* however, disagreed on the merits of the public schools. It accused their teachers of not only putting Protestant Bibles without notes or comments into the hands of Catholic children but also of supplying interpretations contrary to their faith. The then often repeated charge that Bible reading was prohibited to Catholics was dismissed as a calumny. Moreover, it was charged that the public schools not only used anti-Catholic books but even often permitted teachers to indulge in persecution of Catholic children through intolerant sarcasm. Apart from whether funds were granted to what he called "Catholic Public Schools" or not, Varela was convinced that any school where such readings were used should be avoided by Catholics. The *Register* not only checked the other New York Catholic journal for its reference to the teaching of the Church as "sectarian," but also lamented what it felt was the *Truth Teller's* objection to public support of Catholic educational endeavors. Varela's editorial explained that such would be no special privilege for Catholics since, in the first place, any other group could apply to be put on the same footing; secondly, it would promote education by removing an obstacle of conscience to Catholic support of the public schools, and finally Catholic schools, even the colleges, were open to all with no insult offered to Protestant feelings. His underlying principle was expressed thus:

> We are of the opinion, that our government should spread education without *forcing* the professors of any religion to act against their conscience, or to decline the benefit offered them, if we can call it a benefit, at least gratuitous, what is abundantly paid for by those who receive it. True liberality and *real tolerance* would be shown, by obtaining the object, which is the education, without interfering with any body's principles of religion; but at present it is not the case in regard to Catholics.[38]

With frequent references to the "learned editor" of its rival, the *Truth Teller* denied being opposed to Catholic exertions to get state

[37] *Truth Teller,* February 15, 1840.
[38] *Catholic Register,* February 20, 1840.

funds. It cited its own efforts to strengthen that cause and it was at pains to show also that it knew what was considered a "sect" by Catholics.[39] However, this paper's efforts at self-justification looked feeble in the light of the joy of the opponents of Catholics and the general indignation of members of the Church at its first statement which opposed what it called "a system of religious education" set up by force of law. Along positive lines the *Catholic Register* asked for straight talk from Denman's paper and meanwhile listed the answers to the usual charges that were being hurled against Catholics. In the first place it was said that Catholics were seeking a privilege, but they were merely asking from the Common Council a share in funds it was authorized by law to distribute to religious bodies conducting free schools. It was charged that Catholics had pretensions of having their religion supported by public money, but Varela pointed out that what they really wanted was that their children should be taught from public funds but in a way that did not injure their religious beliefs, and that was merely asking for the recognition of a right. Thirdly, some were saying that Catholics wished that Protestants be taxed for Catholic schools, but it was really as true to say that Catholics then supported Protestant schools and, at any rate, they would be satisfied just to receive back what they paid into the public school fund. The final charge and answer were that Catholics wanted to establish a sectarian principle in the schools, but there was no notion of having Catholic schools for all or of forcing anyone to go to them, while the public schools as constituted, although supposedly for all, were of a completely Protestant character. Thus obviously Father Varela played the role—long overlooked or unrecognized by historians—of the ideological precursor of Bishop Hughes and it was he who first gathered the polemical ammunition for the school fight.[40]

The columns of both of the New York Catholic papers were soon crowded with the controversy. The *Truth Teller* tried to reduce to an absurdity the consequences of Seward's recommendations by itemizing the various nationalities and religious bodies that might petition for separate educational consideration. It continued in its opposition to Seward's proposal as a dangerous—and this the British pattern demonstrated!—uniting of politics and religion, of the Church and

[39] *Truth Teller*, February 22, 1840.

[40] *Catholic Register*, February 27, 1840. The issue of March 12, 1840, gave an extract from the 1839 report of the public schools showing that by law the Common Council could give to denominational schools.

the State. Yet it maintained its support of the Catholic petition for funds and printed with approval a memorial from St. Peter's trustees addressed to the Common Council.[41] Varela, logically enough, found inconsistencies in this stand, for he could not see how the Catholic position and the governor's recommendation were anything but in agreement. He had dismissed by this time the proposal to use various foreign languages in the classroom as a minor point in the program and one already being upheld by no one.[42]

It became increasingly obvious that the *Truth Teller* was torn within itself. While it carried a criticism of the Whig government of New York State for taking up with a vengeance the spoils system of the Jacksonian Democrats, it also was quick to underline the fact that one of the new appointees was a notorious bigot, a former president of the Native American Party in the city.[43] Yet this same journal beat its rival in carrying a speech of the lay chairman of a meeting of the city's Catholics on March 24, 1840. Among other things, Mr. Thomas O'Connor demolished the argument that the Catholic petition meant union of Church and State. It was ridiculous, he said, to suppose that a tyranny such as many Irish refugees like himself had endured under such a system abroad would ever be desired in their new country. O'Connor argued cogently against the Public School Society's fifteen-year monopoly as illegal, and he pointed out that the liberality of the directors on such items as changing textbooks was a temporary palliative and would not solve the problem. The Catholic conscience, it was argued, would keep them out of those schools as much as it would out of the Church of England or a Turkish mosque. With words that have a timeless ring on the American scene O'Connor concluded:

> The Catholic seeks nothing from the state or country in aid of his church or religion; in claiming his own rights, he freely recognizes the rights of others; he would willingly unite in the petition of churches differing with him in points of religion, and if his claim to a portion of the literary fund, to the accumulation of which he contributed, should be denied to him, yet would he unite in the effort to obtain justice for the congregations of other churches—for all who are fairly entitled to participate in the common school fund. The Catholic has no objection to the continued maintenance of the public schools, so far as may not be inconsistent with the

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41 *Truth Teller,* February 29, 1840.
42 *Catholic Register,* March 5, 1840.
43 *Truth Teller,* March 21, 7, 1840.

rights of others. The Catholic claims a recognition of his own rights, but he aims no blow at the rights of others; he has no objections to a fair support of the public schools, but he is irreconcilably opposed to the monopoly.[44]

The spring of 1840 saw New York's Catholic laity in great ferment, for the school question was their undertaking. Meetings were held and petitions circulated for signatures through the various congregations and then returned to the headquarters which was a school room next to St. Patrick's on Mott Street. Laymen like O'Connor and John Quin presided and others like Dr. Hugh Sweeny, George Bowen, and James W. McKeon gave addresses. Father Power was not in evidence if one can believe the press, but Father Schneller did report to a meeting on April 7 that the atmosphere in the state capital was friendly to their ideas and that others besides Catholics were signing petitions for the legislature.[45] On April 13, after hearing that their petition had been left with the governor, the Catholic rally resolved to ask a group of three investigators from Albany to visit the Catholic free schools of the city as well as the Public School Society institutions they were scheduled to see. This was successfully accomplished within a few weeks.[46]

Politics reared its ugly head in the midst of these more reputable undertakings. A handbill carrying a speech of Governor Seward before the Albany Hibernian Society was distributed on April 12, the eve of a local election, in the pews of St. Peter's Church. Within that very week the *Catholic Register* was explaining that it had happened without the knowledge of the pastor, or of any clergyman or trustee. In fact, on April 16 the trustees passed a resolution of regret and had it published in the press. On the next Sunday Dr. Power made these same points clear from the pulpit. Father Varela made the incident the subject of the following comment:

The Church recognizes no political party, and the Ecclesiastical Authority is prepared to exercise its spiritual power, should in future any individual

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[44] *Ibid.*, March 28, 1840; *Catholic Register*, April 9, 1840.

[45] *Catholic Register*, April 2, 9, 1840; *Truth Teller*, April 11, 1840. Despite later versions of events, from these contemporary accounts Power is not found on the scene, nor is any association of Catholics mentioned as being formed by him. He was sick for over a month and a half at this very time. *Truth Teller*, April 18, 1840.

[46] *Catholic Register*, April 16, 30, 1840.

of any party whatever, dare to perpetrate similar acts. The Church, however, is not accountable for an intrusion of this kind without authority, and we extremely regret that more importance has been given to the fact than it deserves.[47]

The *Truth Teller* naturally could not miss so fine an opportunity and it blasted this sacrilegious Whig "desecration" of the church which had been perpetrated to win the votes of parishioners. An editorial of illogical indignation read:

So mean and lowly an estimate was placed upon Irish Catholics as to suppose that mere laudation of their country, and expressions of liberality towards their creed would reduce them to apostatise from their political faith, and cover themselves with infamy. The audacity of thus prostituting the interior of a holy church to the vile purposes of designing politicians, upon whom the "mark of the beast" is so plain that we would recognize them at midnight, is utterly without parallel.[48]

It took a bit more of editorial blood-letting to relieve the *Truth Teller's* discomfiture at what it called this attempt, "to thrust Federalism down the throats of Irish Catholics as if it were a gilded pill."[49] Some continued to believe that the prankish work of a few boys had been blown up into a great plot occasioned by a St. Patrick's Day speech of Seward in which he favored the Catholic petition for public support.[50]

By the end of May Father Varela was commenting on the unfortunate confusion of political issues with the cause which the weekly meetings of Catholic laymen continued to promote. But he added that he was happy to have witnessed, "that the members of the Catholic Church have proved by their conduct that *Catholicity* is independent from every party, and Catholics are such as always form one undividable body whatever may be their division as to politics."[51]

It was on this admixture of the political into the educational problem that the Coadjutor Bishop of New York made his first comment in the school controversy. He had been kept informed of developments while in Europe through regular receipt of Varela's *Catholic Register*. Yet as Hughes wrote from Dublin in June, 1840, he showed his major concern to be for the collections for the college and seminary

[47] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1840.
[48] *Truth Teller*, April 18, 1840.
[49] *Ibid.*, April 25, 1840.
[50] Letter of "Catholic," *Catholic Register*, April 23, 1840.
[51] *Ibid.*, May 28, 1840.

at Fordham which were being conducted under Dr. Power's leadership. He had this to say on the school question:

> In the discussions which have taken place among you on the subject of common school education, there is only one thing that has given me pain, viz. that *politics*, and even the appearance of politics should not have been carefully excluded. Certainly, nothing can be more just than that Catholics should receive benefit of taxes, to which they contribute like other citizens. And, if the common school system is injurious to the religion of Catholic children it should be reformed—or else Catholic citizens should be exempted from the obligation of contributing to its support. Nothing could be more cruel or unjust in principle, than to tax the Catholic father for a fund which is to be expended in perverting his child, under the name of public education. But dealing with authorities exercised by men who are just and reasonable, these things will be attended to without the necessity of admitting party politics into the discussion. Let no man assume to treat Catholics as a *party* in politics, by virtue of their religion. Much injury has been done to us by this pretension.[52]

Bishop Hughes' forceful entry into the controversy is too well known to be repeated here in any detail. He took the leadership from the laymen, even at the risk of being called a politician many times during the subsequent years of his life.[53] If this public role has been well rehearsed, the same cannot be said for the diplomatic and "behind-the-scenes" part he played in his relations with Governor Seward. His first open pronouncement on the matter came on July 20, only two days after his return to his see city. Claiming equal public support

[52] Hughes to Varela, Dublin, June 1, 1840, quoted in *Catholic Register*, June 25, 1840.

[53] As Hughes put it himself: "From that period the political papers, out of personal ill-will in the first instance, began to denounce me as a 'politician,' as meddling with the civil affairs of the State; as one on whose 'will and feat' depended the success or defeat of any party, or any individual aspiring to public office. This, I have just remarked, was begun with a view to hold me up to popular odium; but it was repeated in such variety of form, and so perseveringly, that at length it came to be somewhat of a settled belief in the public mind; and to this day, vast numbers are very sincere in the conviction that the first step towards success, which a candidate should take, is to have the approval of the Archbishop of New York. I have often disclaimed this imputed political influence; but the more I disclaimed it, the more the conviction to the contrary became strong and settled." Henry J. Browne (Ed.), "The Archdiocese of New York a Century Ago: A Memoir of Archbishop Hughes, 1838-1858," *Historical Records and Studies*, XXXIX-XL (New York, 1952), 151-152.

for all denominations, as well as for Catholics, the bishop dissociated himself from every political party and assured the first of many cheering audiences that, "It was nothing but simple justice which they contended for, and should they not get it, they must only submit with the philosophy which gives dignity to disappointment."[54]

The course of events in the next month made it evident that the Catholic campaign was led by the bishop. Weekly meetings were the procedure and the laymen did much less of the speaking than formerly. These gatherings aired the arguments based on the biased textbooks, the sectarianism of the non-sectarians, or as Hughes called it, the "Common School sect," the injustice of taxation on Catholics for a system their conscience kept them from using, the danger of the growth from such a system of a common watered-down religion which would exclude the differences of the Christian groups. Hughes' summary of the picture was that it was one wherein, as he remarked, "The education which each denomination might under proper restraints and vigilance give to its *own poor,* has passed and become the monopoly of the Public School Society of New York."[55] As an upshot of so much of this discussion, and in the midst of attacks from the vast majority of the city's press, there was issued in August, 1840, the *Address of the Roman Catholics to their Fellow Citizens of the City and State of New York.*[56]

It was only upon sending a copy of this fourteen-page document to Seward that the bishop inaugurated his correspondence with the governor of the state. There were hints to the Whig politician of Hughes' dissatisfaction with the political complexion of much of his flock, and the flattering—even though keen-sighted—suggestion of Seward's greater successes in the future. The bishop wrote at length:

> In the name of the Catholics of this state, as well as prompted by my own feelings, I would convey to you the expression of my gratitude for the high, liberal, and *true* American views which your Excellency has entertained and expressed officially on the subject of popular education. Too many of our people, having given up their big, credulous hearts to those who have been most artful in wheedling them by professions of interest & friendship, are *as yet* unprepared to do justice to the honorable rectitude & sincerity of your Excellency in their behalf. But even these remember your act with personal gratitude to *you,* as distinguished from the Party

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[54] Kehoe (Ed.), *op. cit.,* I, 4.

[55] *Ibid.,* I, 64.

[56] New York, H. Cassidy, Printer, 1840; 14 pp.

with which you are connected—and I have reason to believe that should our country call you to yet higher trusts in the Republic, *your name* will ever be cherished with a peculiar regard by the Catholics of the present generation throughout the United States.

I am not a politician. My people are divided & my sacred office requires that I should be a father to all. Nevertheless I am not inattentive to the course of things, and bound as I feel myself by a cordial attachment to the institutions of the Republic, I cannot but feel a deep interest in the character of the men by whom they are to be administered. I trust your Excellency is still young enough to serve the commonwealth with the accumulation of that repute & those public & private virtues which distinguish your name, until they shall at length in good time adorn the first office in a free nation. My position already alluded to and the divided state in which I found the Catholics have forbidden me to bear that testimony to the purity of your Excellency's motives which I could do—if it were expedient or necessary. . . . But such are the circumstances of the case, that if I were to do you, in our meetings, only simple justice in this matter, they would say the bishop was a "Whig"—while your political opponents would say, probably, that you were a "papist."[57]

In a glow of pleasure at the bishop's letter Governor Seward sent the following response:

Although it bestows upon me more praise than I deserve or can consistently receive, I welcome it as the expression of a generous spirit on a subject which ought to excite not only as it does on my part patriotic zeal but also as it does on yours Christian philanthropy. I have carefully read and permit me to say further that I have read with lively satisfaction your appeals to the people of your charge on the subject of the education of their children. I wish you abundant success in this great and good work. I notice also with pleasure your circumspection in avoiding the danger of exciting prejudices incident always to every effort to reform manners or morals. I need not assure you of my sympathy in regard to the ultimate object of your efforts, the education of the poor. I content myself therefore with saying that it will afford me great pleasure to consult with you freely on the subject whenever it suits your convenience to make your promised visit in this place, and that in all measures calculated to advance that object you shall have what support it is in my power consistently with other duties and relations to afford.

Accept my grateful thanks for your kind expression, and be assured that while my ambition for public favor is already satisfied, I regard it both

[57] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Manuscript Department, Hughes to Seward, New York, August 29, 1840.

an honor and a pleasure to have gained by my public conduct the respect and esteem of one who so deservedly enjoys the affection of a numerous denomination of Christians and the unreserved respect of the whole community.[58]

Actually by September, 1840, Hughes was under a rain of epithets including that of being a Whig. Hence he undertook to deny publicly his lack of interest in political parties. He wrote of them to the press:

> They are much less important in my mind than the salvation of one child from spiritual and moral ruin. I see thousands of the children of poor Catholics exposed to both; and I appeal to just, humane and patriotic men of all parties to aid me in effecting their rescue.[59]

Accordingly, his committee of four laymen who drew up a petition for the Common Council was made up of men of varying political affiliations. This request for a share in the public fund for eight Catholic schools was surrounded and sent on its way by torrents of spoken words. The climax came with Hughes' famous appearance before the Board of Aldermen at the end of October, 1840, to debate the hostile remonstrances made against the petition by the Public School Society and the Methodist Episcopal group. This resulted in a logical and moral victory for the bishop, but as they were to find out by the next January the Catholic presentation was defeated. The text of this debate was forwarded by Hughes, not only to Rome and to his brother bishops, but also to Governor Seward. The case was then ready to move into its Albany stage of argumentation.[60]

Meanwhile prelate and politician had themselves moved closer to each other. Seward let Hughes know of the adverse effects in the election of November, 1840, of his pro-Catholic stand. He had, of course, been re-elected in the general Whig victory of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" over Martin Van Buren, but he had suffered at the polls. The bishop's reaction should have pleased the governor, for he lashed out against the *Truth Teller:*

> We are almost ruined by the havoc which politics have made among our ignorant & mislead people. But I trust that the bad influence which has too long been exercised on them by a vile print in this city affecting great

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[58] Archives of the Archdiocese of New York, hereafter AANY, Seward to Hughes, Albany, September 1, 1840.

[59] Hughes to *Evening Post,* New York, September 3, 1840, quoted in Kehoe (Ed.), *op cit.,* I, 91.

[60] Connors, *op. cit.,* pp. 23-31.

zeal for their country & their religion, but in reality an injury to the character of both, will soon be at an end. I shall make a holy war on these miserable traffickers on their credulity.

Hughes explained how he had effectively kept politics out of the pulpits, although he expressed concern over secret societies which had kept members of his flock pledged to a particular party and also his annoyance with political articles in supposedly Catholic journals. His own preference was not very heavily veiled when he spoke of those who had deserted Seward at the polls. He stated:

This is a poor encouragement for a public servant who wishes to be guided by high, and large statesmanlike views—instead of that low & selfish policy which is so common & from which the great interests of the *whole* are so liable to suffer.[61]

An expression of the governor's gratification was quickly forthcoming, but it was not the less non-partisan because so high-minded in tone:

There is much to rejoice for in the prospect of a release of all classes of citizens from the controlling power that has so long established the creed of political orthodoxy. For myself I am content to abide my vindication, and I trust yet to have the support of all good men in attacking ignorance & vice although for a time through misapprehension the hands of some have been raised against me.[62]

The New York scene in 1841 was marked by monthly mass meetings of Catholics. They succeeded in bringing a petition of 7,000 names to the state legislature and then as they waited for results the bishop began to use the unity of his people forged by the crisis for another end. For about a year these gatherings were the general meetings of the Church Debt Association which was a plan of Hughes to pay off church debts by treating them as if all the congregations in New York and Brooklyn were one big parish.[63] In April the program of John C. Spencer, Secretary of State, which would have given local choice to schools in the matter of religious instruction and would have them all under elected commissioners, was put to the legislature. This was an occasion when Hughes disagreed with Seward by opposing his proposal for a public demonstration in favor of the pending measure. The bishop reasoned that such a move would

[61] University of Rochester Library, Seward Papers, hereafter SP, Hughes to Seward, New York, November 29, 1840.

[62] AANY, Seward to Hughes, Albany, December 3, 1840.

[63] Kehoe (Ed.), *op. cit.*, I, 249.

label the proposal a Catholic and a foreign one. He was aware of the abuse of bigotry already suffered by Seward and his cohorts for their stand, and he knew that even the Whig Party contained those who opposed the governor. These latter politicians, Hughes claimed, tried to blame Seward's loss of popularity at the polls on Catholic ingratitude to their political friends. Hughes continued his analysis:

> I have not a word to say in excuse for the Catholics—they are exceedingly stupid on these matters, but I think they begin to open their eyes. If, however, in the instance referred to they had so acted, these same accusers would have charged them with putting their votes on the market and selling them for their own interest, instead of the good of the country. But whilst they uttered charges of making the matter a subject of party politics, they themselves were laboring to make it appear that no public officer could hope to survive an effort to do justice to the proscribed class.[64]

Governor Seward's acceptance of the opinions of the bishop about the ways of politics did not go unaccompanied by a gentle rebuke. He based his proof of sincerity in the school program—which had naturally been attacked as a sheer political move—on his resolve not to run again for public office. From this very detached plane there came an answer to Hughes:

> In this as in all other cases I deem it only necessary that my opinion and proceedings be fairly and frankly communicated even under circumstances most unfavorable to a candid judgment of them, and I cheerfully trust the conclusions of them with my countrymen. Public opinion is the great agent in this country in accomplishing all measures designed to promote the public welfare.[65]

In the sequel Spencer's bill was defeated and the state senate put off the question until January, 1842, which meant after the election of new legislators. The space of time between was filled in by Hughes with addresses to Catholic mass meetings in Carroll Hall (which later became St. Andrew's Church) and with rejoinders to critics in the public forum of the secular press which he used, perhaps, more than any American bishop of the last century. His intimacy with Seward was illustrated by the governor's request in favor of the reinstatement of a suspended priest. Hughes, although he declined to grant the favor, did assure him that "whether in public or private capacity there is no man in this state whose 'friendly offices' would

[64] SP, Hughes to Seward, New York, May 11, 1841.
[65] AANY, Seward to Hughes, Albany, May 18, 1841.

have more weight with me than yours."[66] The governor's party was a different matter, for in the state elections of November, 1841, a so-called "Catholic ticket," who were two senatorial and thirteen assemblymen candidates pledged to support the Catholic viewpoint on public support, was endorsed at a meeting at which Hughes told his people, "neither in honor nor in principle, nor in conscience, can you now vote for those whom you already know are prepared to do you injury."[67] The subsequent loss of Catholic votes on the part of the Democrats helped the Whig victory and led to a press campaign against Hughes as a tool of Seward's party.[68] Thereupon the bishop addressed the governor as a co-belligerent:

> I was chafed and jealous when you *alone* were getting all the abuse to which the exercise of the heart's benevolence entitles good men, in the world of selfishness & corruption. But now that I am classed with you in it, I am revenged and happy.[69]

Seward was a constant friend. In addition to a promise of legislative action he encouraged Hughes with these words:

> You have, my dear Sir, a high vocation here. One no less than that of lifting the vast and influential emigrant Catholic population from a condition of inferiority and exclusion, to equality and harmony with all other sects and citizens. You are endowed with genius, vigor, firmness, and appreciation of truth which seem to me guarantees of your success.[70]

More public gatherings and press statements took up the bishop's time until the Maclay Bill sponsored by the administration came up for consideration in Albany. His continued support led Hughes to see in Seward one who would be a national hero in the eyes of Catholics of future years. Meanwhile more practical Whig politicians like Horace Greeley saw in the issue the chance to beat Tammany Hall.[71] Greeley and Assemblyman William B. Maclay, the son of a popular Baptist minister, consulted with Hughes as the bill set out on its rough legislative voyage. At least three letters from the episcopal rooms on Mulberry Street to the executive office in Albany seem

[66] SP, Hughes to Seward, New York, July 21, 1841.
[67] Kehoe (Ed.), *op. cit.*, I, 281.
[68] Connors, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
[69] SP, Hughes to Seward, New York, November 8, 1841.
[70] AANY, Seward to Hughes, Albany, November 10, 1841.
[71] SP, Hughes to Seward, New York, January 10, 1842; Greeley to Seward, New York, January 7, 1842.

to have been dutifully destroyed by the governor as the bishop had directed. It is clear that his opinions, though now unknown in their specific recommendations, were respected and, in turn, he was coached to have his representatives on hand while the bill was on the floor.[72]

The vote in the assembly was overwhelmingly favorable, but the lack of Whig backing prompted advice from Hughes. With some hesitancy as to its propriety, he suggested to Seward that such associates as Thurlow Weed and others should work to win over the Whig vote in the upper house.[73] The bill, however, that was able to pass the Senate by only one vote and that was given the executive signature on April 9, 1842, had lost one of the chief features fostered by Hughes. The Maclay measure in the form that it became law forbade state support to religious schools in the city. Yet the monopoly of the Public School Society was broken since the measure required elected school commissioners for the city as had been required previously only for the other areas of the state. This gave rise to the notion of its being a Catholic victory and brought a few real brickbats hurling through the windows of the episcopal residence when the news became known. Seward, in lamenting this incident, predicted that the bishop's impartial and eminently American spirit would one day be given triumphant recognition:

> I stop not to inquire by which immediate agency crimes so injurious to the character of a Republican people are to be attributed. It is apparent however that they are resulting from the agitation of the claims of that portion of our fellow citizens with whom you are immediately connected to an equal participation in the benefits of the system of public education which the spirit of our constitution and laws agrees should be universal.[74]

Hughes, equally magnanimous, gave all the credit to Governor Seward and prophesized of their mutual endeavor that in the future, "it will be found that there was less of popery & treason than of enlightened philosophy and true patriotism in the motives that urged it forward."[75]

Bishop Hughes did not try again for public support for Catholic

[72] AANY, Seward to Hughes, Albany, February 7, 10, 18, 1842.

[73] Hughes to Seward, New York, March 22, 1842, printed in *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, XXIII (January, 1912), 36-38, from the Charles Roberts autograph collection at Haverford College.

[74] SP, volume 4, Seward to Hughes, Albany, April 14, 1842, copy. Cf. Connors, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-42.

[75] SP, Hughes to Seward, New York, May 3, 1842.

education but turned rather to the building of parochial schools. By the end of the 1840's, "the school house first and the church afterwards" was becoming the norm.[76] Throughout the decade before his death in 1864 the tradition of the God-less public school was more firmly implanted in the American Catholic mentality as a result of his outlook. He wrote in 1858 of the danger of religious perversion that still existed for Catholic children in public schools, and he concluded:

> The "pressure from without" has thrown the Catholics more upon themselves; and what was much to be desired, the line of distinction between "Catholic Schools" and "Atheistical Schools" (for they are nothing else), is clearly drawn and well understood on both sides.[77]

Clearly, then, Bishop Hughes' ideas on public education were of a vastly different lineage than the friendly attitude of Orestes Brownson, or later in the century, of those of Bishop John Lancaster Spalding and Archbishop John Ireland.[78]

No further research or novelty of interpretation is likely ever to displace John Hughes as the chief Catholic figure in the cause of public support for Catholic education in the period from 1825 to 1842. New York at that time was watched by the whole nation as much as by Catholics in towns and cities stretching out to the frontier line. To highlight his part in this important chapter in American Catholic history it has been necessary to see him against a background that is usually forgotten. An understanding of the days of Bishop Dubois casts light on how in the years from 1825 to 1840 New York Catholics made little or no advance toward state aid. By contrast, too, it shows Hughes' achievement, especially that of unifying his people. The immediate setting for Hughes' role was his diocese in the first half of 1840, when Father Felix Varela was first expounding ideas that were to become the oratorical stock in trade of the campaign later led by the bishop. In those days also the political complications

[76] Pastoral of November 15, 1850, printed in Kehoe (Ed.), *op. cit.*, II, 715.

[77] Browne (Ed.), *op. cit.*, XXXIX-XL, 155.

[78] Cf. Edward John Power, "Brownson's Views on Responsibility for Education," *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, LXII (December, 1951), 242-252; John L. Spalding, *Education and the Future of Religion* (Notre Dame, Ave Maria Press, n.d.), p. 14-16, a sermon preached in the Church of the Gesù, Rome, March 21, 1900, for the benefit of a free night school; Daniel F. Reilly, O.P., *The School Controversy (1891-1893)* (Washington, 1943), *passim*, on Ireland's views.

which may have been inevitable did arise and actually form clouds which obscured the issue. This, in turn, gave Hughes better excuse for entering into the fray in a way that rendered the laymen no longer leaders so much as followers, or at best occasionally co-operators. Such a development was hardly surprising from another point of view, for one of the great preoccupations of Bishop Hughes' ecclesiastical career was his continual opposition to lay trusteeism.

The Bishop Hughes of the school controversy has been well known as the public figure who was ever attacking and being attacked. But the diplomatic churchman, the shrewd analyzer of political affairs, the very human prelate who took to flattery and friendship from Governor Seward—a man whose high ideals he admired—this Bishop Hughes has been long obscured and, it is hoped, has now been somewhat rediscovered.

The Catholic University of America

MISCELLANY

DANGERS OF SUBVERSION IN AN AMERICAN EDUCATION: A FRENCH VIEW, 1801

By

Dorothy Mackay Quynn*

In the course of some research in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs,[1] the writer recently came across a document which reflects the fears of French and Spanish colonial officials in the West Indies regarding the education of "Créole" children sent to the United States. School facilities in plantation areas were necessarily limited, and families who could afford it had for years sent their sons to France. Schools such as the Collège de Juilly, conducted by the Oratorians in the town of the same name not far from Paris, had been especially popular; and the books of the school show the names of famous families, such as the Pontalbas of New Orleans, and many less-known names with residences given as Martinique, Guadaloupe, Saint-Domingue, and a variety of other places in the West Indies.[2] But the voyage was long and expensive, and many families were less and less able to afford such luxuries, when, due to the disturbances in the islands, their incomes decreased or vanished. Others hesitated to expose their children to the dangers and uncertainties of the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. It was not

* Mrs. Quynn, who was for many years a professor of mediaeval history in Duke University, is now engaged in private research.

[1] The part of the Quai d'Orsay palace in which the archives are housed was burned and partly destroyed in the last battle with the Germans during the liberation of Paris. It became necessary to close the archives during the period required for repairs, which were still in progress in 1950. The writer is very grateful to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic for permission to examine the consular correspondence during the closed period, and to the staff of the archives, particularly Mademoiselle Gicquello, who facilitated her research under conditions which caused them inconvenience and required special arrangements.

[2] Juilly (S-et-O), Collège de Juilly, *MS Régistre des élèves*, I, II. I am indebted to the Reverend Louis Cognet of the Oratory who allowed me to examine these volumes, and who shared with me his vast knowledge of the history of the school.

strange, therefore, that the idea of providing for them nearer home should find support.

The plan grew out of an effort of some refugee Sulpician priests to find new fields of activity in the western hemisphere. Dedicated to the task of educating young men for the priesthood, their work had been disrupted in France where some of them, including the superior general, had been imprisoned, others driven into exile. One group of four Sulpicians from Paris came to Baltimore in July, 1791, to found a seminary to train priests for the Church in the United States.[3] Moved on the one hand by the hope of recruiting boys for the seminary, and on the other by the desire to earn money to support the seminary, some eight years later one of the priests, Father William Dubourg, decided to found a preparatory school. An effort had already been made to establish a school in Havana and elsewhere in Cuba, but the Spanish government interfered.[4] This was a great disappointment to Father Dubourg, himself a native of the islands, having been born at Cap Français, Saint-Domingue, now Cap Haitien, Haiti. Returning to the Sulpician house in Baltimore in August, 1799, he brought three Cuban boys with him, and started the school which was later to become St. Mary's College.[5] Twelve French boys, sons of French refugees from the islands, living in Baltimore, were to be admitted, and three registered immediately.[6] Supposedly because of the need for avoiding competition with the school already established at Georgetown, and certainly in part for this reason, the enrollment was limited to French and Spanish boys, and no Ameri-

[3] This foundation is discussed by Peter Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, 1922), II, 467-471, and in a study by Joseph W. Ruane, *The Beginnings of the Society of Saint-Sulpice in the United States, 1791-1829* (Washington, 1935), chapters I-II.

[4] Correspondence of the Superior General in Paris with Dubourg, Baltimore, Archives of St. Mary's Seminary, Emery to Dubourg, April 1, 1880; a newspaper account in *The Companion,* Baltimore, August 16, 1808; Ruane, *op. cit.,* pp. 101-103. The writer is grateful to the present archivist of St. Mary's Seminary, the Reverend William J. O'Shea, S.S., for assistance and advice. This archives will be referred to hereafter as ASMS.

[5] ASMS, J. M. Tessier, "Epoques du seminaire de Baltimore," entry for the year 1799, translated in James J. Kortendick, S.S., "The History of St. Mary's College, Baltimore," unpublished master's thesis, The Catholic University of America (1942), p. 148.

[6] ASMS, "Régistre des Assemblées," "Epoques . . .," entry for 1799.

cans were to be admitted.[7] One of the inducements was that French was to be the language of the house[8] to the exclusion of English.

One wonders whether Bishop John Carroll, if indeed the Sulpicians, were not aware of another reason for excluding Americans, other than the language, and the question of competition with Georgetown College. Our document from the archives of the Quai d'Orsay[9] shows that French officials were afraid that association with Americans might have disastrous consequences by indoctrinating the boys with ideas about colonial independence. It should be remembered that in 1801 the fortunes of France in the West Indies were at a very low point, that hundreds of white colonists had been massacred or driven into exile from Saint-Domingue, that Martinique was overrun by the English with the co-operation of the French colonists who clung desperately to the hope of thereby saving their lives, their homes, and their investment, and that all this must have increased the concern of such French authorities as nourished hopes of a revival of French power and prestige after the "troubles."

The French consul in Baltimore was in an excellent position to study the state of mind of those who had suffered in the islands, as well as the impact of American ideas upon these persons. The first refugees from Saint-Domingue had come to Baltimore, and had been followed by many others. They formed a French colony in the city where they kept up their language and traditions.[10] Reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs show great concern on the part of the French consular agents for the activities of their compatriots in Baltimore as, for example, a report sent some years before about the arrival of the Sulpicians and their newly established St. Mary's

[7] ASMS, "Epoques . . .," entry for 1799. This is also apparent in subsequent correspondence between the superior general in Paris and the house in Baltimore, e.g., Emery to Dubourg, Paris, January 28, 1802.

[8] "Epoques . . .," entry for 1799.

[9] The writer is grateful to the former Superior General of the Society of Saint-Sulpice and Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Paris, the Very Reverend Pierre Boisard, who generously discussed this document with her. Father Boisard, who is writing a history of Saint-Sulpice, said that the society had no documentary material on this question, and that the episode was completely unknown to him. His archivist has since found a copy of our letter, made and filed at an unknown date.

[10] They even had a French Masonic lodge, *La Vérité*, transplanted from Cap Haitien. Information about this lodge was kindly given me at the Masonic Temple in Baltimore by Mr. J. W. Smith, custodian of the historical collection.

Seminary. This report had been carefully put into code before being transmitted.[11] On September 4, 1801, the consul again reported on the Sulpicians, this time with more concern, but less precaution, for the letter is not coded. This is the report which is the subject of this paper. He wrote of Father Dubourg's school, of the fact that only the children of French and Spanish colonists were to be admitted, and he stated that it had already prospered to such an extent that it promised to draw most of the children from the colonies. He spoke of the high calibre of the staff of the school and their strong ties with France. However, he said, this would not overcome the dangers of educating Créole boys in Baltimore, and the consul advised his superiors that although the Sulpicians seemed not to suspect any danger of opposition from the French government, nevertheless, that government ought to oppose the project.

The consul pointed out that, in spite of all precautions, the boys would live in Baltimore in an atmosphere where popular ideas and "national prejudices" tended to be more English than French. Further, the great sufferings of the colonists in the islands, still "profoundly French at heart," had embittered them to such an extent that their discontent would take years to overcome. Meantime, if their children, sharing the discontent, should take on American ideas, the result might be something which these boys "would have regarded with nothing less than horror, had they been educated in a French country." The ideas to which he referred were the result of American ambition, which, as he had already advised the ministry on previous occasions, led Americans to "consider the Islands of the Gulf of Mexico as destined to belong to" the United States eventually. The Spanish government had already taken specific steps, he said, to prevent this new development from interfering with their long-established principles of colonial administration.[12] The consul further suggested that if the French government wished to encourage such a project, it might be a good idea to move the school to Louisiana, "provided that it is held by the French," since it was a "country where the people are devoted to France," and where the

[11] Paris, Affaires Etrangères, "MS. Correspondence consulaire," Baltimore, 1781-1817, I, fo. 71-r.-74 v.

[12] All the quotations in this paragraph are translations of passages in the document which is reproduced at the end of this paper.

boys would "get no ideas conflicting with the duty which they owe to their Mother Country."

This writer has been unable to discover whether the French government took any steps in response to the advice of the consul in Baltimore, or whether his attitude ever came to be generally known. It was not long before news of the action of the Spanish government became public, however. When Father Dubourg went to Havana in April, 1802, about seven months after the date of the Quai d'Orsay letter, he learned that the Spanish government was planning to recall the boys already in Baltimore. None would be permitted to leave in the future. In September, 1803, twenty-three Spanish boys—all except four who were absent from the college at the time—left for their homes in a ship sent from Cuba for the purpose of bringing them back.[13] This exodus left only thirty students in the school, in a plant prepared for twice that number.

In retrospect, it now seems quite possible that Father Dubourg knew something of the attitude of the consul in Baltimore who had written the report.[14] Dubourg had evidently hoped for money, perhaps payment of the debts for board and tuition due the school, when he made a trip to Havana in April, 1802. The action of the Spanish government interfered, at least as far as the recruiting of students was concerned, and to judge from subsequent references to debts,[15] Dubourg failed there also. But it seems more than a coincidence that he next went to New Orleans to explore the possibility of transferring the school to Louisiana, which had recently reverted to France after some years of Spanish rule. His correspondence with his superior general in Paris reveals Father Dubourg as a man

[13] Tessier, "Epoques . . .," entries for 1802 and 1803; MS Journal, May 13, 1803; September 1, 2, 5, 6, 20, 21, 1803.

[14] The Sulpicians seem never to have discussed this aspect of the question, but attributed the need for removal of the school to the opposition of Bishop Carroll and the rivalry with Georgetown. This is evident in the record of their meetings as early as October 2, 1801 (ASMS, "Régistre des Assemblées," October 2, 1801; and Ruane, *op. cit.*, p. 115, and note 2), almost a month after the consular report to Paris. The bishop had apparently suggested removing the school to Charleston, South Carolina, but the Sulpicians preferred New York. The following year they considered removing it to France.

[15] Father Boisard has informed me that a priest of St. Mary's College went twice to the West Indies, in 1812 and 1817, to try to collect large sums due for unpaid fees. He died in Martinique in 1818 during this mission.

of great charm and social gifts, who moved in the upper levels of the society of the colonies as well as in Baltimore. He may well have picked up information which was never communicated officially to his colleagues. Whether a coincidence or not, he was without question following exactly the line suggested by the French consul in his report of September 4, 1801. Father Dubourg returned to Baltimore in August, 1802, without having found a solution,[16] perhaps due to the uncertainty of conditions in New Orleans. After the departure of the Spanish boys thirteen months later the problem was solved in another way. The school was opened to Americans as well as to foreign boys, and to Protestants as well as Catholics, in October, 1803.[17]

St. Mary's College continued to function under the direction of the Sulpician Fathers until 1852. It provided a French education for many well-known Baltimoreans and others of all faiths. It was here that the young Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte was sent by his ambitious mother, the American wife of Jerome, youngest brother of Napoleon.

The text[18] of the report follows:

Baltimore, 15 fructidor an 10.

Citoyen Ministre,

Des Ecclésiastiques français sortis de France par suite de la Révolution, ont fondé, il y a quelques années, un collège à Baltimore. Les Enfans des habitans de nos Colonies et les Espagnols de la Havanne sont les seuls étudians qui soient admis dans cet établissement. Les Américains n'y sont point recus et malgré les obstacles que cette particularité devrait mettre à son aggrandissement, il est arrivé à un degré surprenant de prosperité. La reputation que ce collège a acquise fait espérer à l'Abbé Dubourg son chef et principal fondateur qu'il attirera la plus grande partie des enfans des colons. Je ne doute point qu'il ne réussisse à moins qu'une opposition à la quelle il n'a point pensé, de la part du Gouvernement français ne vienne arrêter

[16] Tessier, "Epoques . . .," entry for 1802.

[17] Tessier, "Epoques . . .," entry for 1803; ASMS, Emery to Dubourg, February 26, 1804.

[18] Paris, Archives des Affaires Etrangères, "MS Correspondence consulaire, Baltimore, 1781-1817," I, 191 r.-193 v., September 4, 1801.

son progrès. Tout en rendant justice aux chefs de cet établissement je crois que cette opposition est necessaire.

Le Gouvernement Espagnol en défendant qu'à l'avenir aucun Espagnol y fut envoyé n'a fait qu'agir conformément aux principes qui l'ont jusqu'à présent conduit dans l'administration de ses colonies et j'ajouterai que dans cette circonstance, l'application de ces principes est fondée.

L'Ambition des Américains que vous connaissez, citoyen Ministre, et de laquelle je vous parle dans nos précédentes leur fait considérer toutes les Iles du Golfe du Mexique comme devant leur appartenir un jour. La plupart des habitans de nos colonies dans cette partie n'oublient point leurs malheurs et malgré qu'ils soient français dans le coeur, il faudra longtems avant que leur affection pour la France ait entièrement éteint leur mécontentement: ce mécontentement se transmettra chez leurs enfans, et les empêchera de ressentir pour la Mère Patrie ces attachemens garans de la conservation des colonies. Ces dispositions augmenteront si les enfans sont élévés dans un pays ou les préjugés nationaux sont, il faut l'avouer, plus favorables aux Anglais qu'aux Français. Ils ne manqueront point dans leurs communications inévitables avec les Américains de recevoir des impressions facheuses et ces impressions qu'ils n'oublieront jamais, pourront un jour leur faire envisager avec plaisir la possibilité d'un évènement auquel ils n'eussent pensé qu'avec horreur s'ils eussent été élévés dans un pays français.

Telles sont, citoyen Ministre, les considérations que je crois devoir vous présenter. Je connais le chef du collège et je ne doute point que ses dispositions aussi que celles de ses professeurs ne soient favorables à la France: mais ces dispositions ne détruisent pas les inconvéniens desquels j'ai eu l'honeur de vous entretenir.

Si le Gouvernement français voulait protéger l'établissement dans le colonies d'un collège où les jeunes créoles puissent reçevoir une éducation meilleure que celle que l'on pouvait donner à St. Domingue, La Louisiane, supposé qu'elle appartint à la France, serait un excellent pays pour cet objet et des avantages accordés aux personnes qui dirigent le collège de Baltimore pourront les déterminer à le transporter dans cette nouvelle possession dans le cas où ils seraient mis dans l'impossibilité de continuer ici.

Alors, citoyen Ministre, les Créoles transportés pour y être élévés dans un pays dont les habitans sont attachés à la France, ne recevront

aucune impression contraire à ce qu'ils doivent à la Mère Patrie et le Gouvernement aura fourni aux familles qui ne sont point assés fortunés pour envoyer leurs enfans en France les moyens de procurer à ceux-ci une éducation en même tems bonne et peu dispendieuses.

Agréez, citoyen Ministre, l'assurance de mon respect

Jques Levillain

THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 28-30, 1952

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Association was held at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington on December 28-30, 1952, along with the meetings of the American Historical Association and its affiliated societies. The registration of 109 was thirty-two less than at New York in 1951, and the presidential luncheon drew seventy-eight as against 110 in New York. But the smaller numbers in no way impeded the holding of a lively and interesting meeting.

On Sunday, December 28, at 2:30 President Raymond J. Sontag chaired the annual business meeting when the reports of the officers and committees were made, the texts of which can be read in this issue of the REVIEW. Following the business meeting there was held a panel discussion on "Catholic Sites and Monuments" with Dr. Donald Derby of The American University in the chair. The participants numbered Thomas Grassmann, O.F.M.Conv., of the Mohawk-Caughnawaga Museum, Robert C. Smith of the University of Pennsylvania, and H. McGill Wilson of Washington. Out of the discussion that arose during the session there came the suggestion that the Association appoint a committee on Catholic sites and monuments to interest local groups in the historic sites of their respective regions and to encourage and foster the marking of such sites and the repair of historic buildings. This suggestion was acted upon by the Executive Council at its meeting on the following day, and the secretary of the Association was empowered to name a committee of not more than five members to undertake this assignment.

On Monday, December 29, the annual joint session with the American Historical Association took place on the subject, "The Churches of Eastern Europe." The two principal papers were read by Milton Anastos of the Dumbarton Oaks Library, Harvard University, on "Church and State during the Iconoclastic Controversy," and by Cyril Toumanoff of Georgetown University on "Moscow the Third Rome: Its Genesis and Significance." The discussion leaders were Peter Charanis of Rutgers University and Martin J. Higgins of the Catholic University of America.

It was generally agreed that it had been a very profitable session with around 125 from both associations in attendance. On Monday afternoon there was held a session on "The Contributions of the French to American Catholicism on the Frontier" with Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J., of St. Louis University acting as chairman and the two main papers by Mother Louise Callan of Maryville College who spoke on "Blessed Philippine Duchesne" and J. Herman Schauinger of the College of St. Thomas on "Flaget, David, and Nerinckx on the Kentucky Frontier, 1805-1825." The discussion leaders were Frances S. Childs of Brooklyn College and Leo F. Ruskowski, S.S., of St. Charles College.

The final session of the meeting was the presidential luncheon on Tuesday, December 30, when President Sontag read his address entitled, "Appeasement, 1937," which was published in the January issue of the REVIEW. The Most Reverend John M. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Washington, presided at the luncheon and made a few informal remarks at the close. Before the presidential address John T. Farrell, First Vice-President of the Association, who acted as chairman, introduced Monsignor Cartwright, the treasurer, who, in turn, was the Association's spokesman in presenting to Leo F. Stock, President of the Association in 1929, a scroll which made him an honorary life member. By a happy coincidence that day marked the golden jubilee of the wedding of Dr. and Mrs. Stock who were present at the head table. The members were likewise pleased in having present the distinguished emeritus professor of modern history at Columbia University, Carleton J. H. Hayes, who was president of our Association in 1931.

The thirty-fourth annual meeting will be held at the Hotel Conrad Hilton in Chicago on December 28-30, 1953. The reports of the officers and committees for 1952 follow.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER:

ACCOUNT I—GENERAL FUND

Investments —December 15, 1951		$5,858.44
Cash on hand—December 15, 1951	$4,888.13	
Receipts:		
Annual dues	6,309.00	
Income from investments	396.00	
Donations to annual meeting expenses	543.28	
Donations	5.00	
Total	$12,141.41	$5,858.44

Disbursements:

Office expenses:			
Rent of office and telephone service	$ 74.00		
Supplies and sundry	223.46		
Secretary's salary	1,305.52	$1,602.98	
Annual meeting expenses—1951		542.74	
John Gilmary Shea Prize		200.00	
Catholic Historical Review		3,539.00	
Exchange on checks and checks returned		25.64	
Establishment of Carroll Papers Fund		1,000.00	6,910.36
Balance on hand, December 15, 1952			$5,231.05
Investments, December 15, 1952			$5,858.44

ACCOUNT II—REVOLVING ACCOUNT

Publication of Documents

Cash on hand—December 15, 1951		$1,842.64
Receipts:		
Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*	$165.50	
Stock, *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States*	160.50	326.00
Total receipts		$2,168.64
Disbursements:		
Albrecht Company	$105.60	
Catholic University of America Press	30.00	
Total disbursements		135.60
Balance on hand, December 15, 1952		$2,033.04

CARROLL PAPERS FUND

Cash on hand	$1,000.00
Expenditures	277.33
Balance on hand, December 15, 1952	$ 722.67

SUMMARY

Investments—Account I	$5,858.44

Cash on hand:		
Account I	$5,231.05	
Account II	2,033.04	
Carroll Papers Fund	722.67	
Total Cash on Hand	$7,986.76	

MEMORANDUM ON CARROLL PAPERS FUND

Cash on hand		$1,000.00
Expenditures:		
Reverend J. M. Beauchemin	$ 5.00	
Wickersham Printing Company	13.55	
Maryland Historical Society $ 2.41		
.60	3.01	
Reverend Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C.	13.66	
Recordak Corporation $12.98		
21.24	34.22	
Georgetown University	5.00	
Catholic University of America	190.25	
Reverend J. R. Clarke, S.J.	4.72	
Reverend H. Chadwick, S.J.	7.92	
	$277.33	277.33
Balance on hand, December 15, 1952		$ 722.67

INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS

Interest		
Morris and Essex	$ 70.00	
New York Central and Hudson River RR.	70.00	$ 140.00
Dividends		
Bank of America	$186.00	
Montana Power	70.00	256.00
		$ 396.00

Bank of America

93 Shares

Market—December 8, 1952.... 30¾	$2,859.75	
Bought	2,220.00	
Appreciation	$ 639.75	$ 639.75

Paying 6.7%

Montana Power

50 Shares

Market—December 8, 1952....	30¾	$1,537.50	
Bought	23¼	1,162.50	
Appreciation		$ 375.00	375.00
			$1,014.75

Paying 6.02%

* * * * * * * * *

New York Central

Bought at		$1,277.27	
Market today		1,265.00	
Loss		$ 12.27	$12.27
Morris and Essex			
Bought at		$1,198.94	
Market today		1,190.00	
Loss		$ 8.94	8.94
			$21.21 21.21
Total appreciation at current market			$ 993.54

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS:

President: John T. Farrell, The Catholic University of America

First Vice-President: Thomas P. Neill, St. Louis University

Second Vice-President: Ignatius Brady, O.F.M., St. Bonaventure University

Executive Council (for three-year terms to replace Thomas A. Brady and John B. Heffernan):
Matthew A. Fitzsimons, University of Notre Dame
Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, Fordham University

Committee on Nominations:
Tibor Kerekes, Georgetown University, *Chairman*
Robert J. Cornell, O.Praem, St. Norbert College
Gabriel Costello, F.S.C., Manhattan College

Committee on Program:

Edward Gargan, Sheil School of Social Studies, Chicago, *Chairman*
John Kamerick, Lewis College, Lockport
Paul S. Lietz, Loyola University, Chicago

For a three-year term on the Committee for the John Gilmary Shea Prize:
Ralph F. Bayard, C.M., Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis

Committee on Nominations, 1952,
MARTIN J. LOWERY, De Paul University, *Chairman*
SISTER M. MARIE MCGOWAN, O.P., Barry College, Miami
JOHN J. TIERNEY, S.S., St. Charles College, *Catonsville*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JOHN CARROLL PAPERS:

This committee was authorized a year ago by the action of the Executive Council. Its members include *ex officio* the incumbent president of the Association and the secretary, John Tracy Ellis, as chairman. Unlike other and similar projects, no great number of scholars were named as advisory council or even to the editorial board itself. The additional members besides the present secretary are Charles H. Metzger, S.J., and Mrs. Annabelle M. Melville, both of whom have specialized in the Catholic history of Archbishop Carroll's period.

The first step undertaken by the committee was the assembling of the writings of John Carroll in facsimile form. Apart from some consultation and publicizing this acquiring and arranging of material has been the principal task of the past year. Two Carroll letters were obtained in copy from Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle of Washington, as a private owner, and two others through the kindness of Miss Sarah Lee of Washington, D. C. Three items were uncovered in the manuscript materials of the Maryland Historical Society. The Carroll documents in the archives of Georgetown University amounted to thirteen while the first batch from the University of Notre Dame added up to fourteen letters written by the archbishop. Among the depositories co-operating have been two Jesuit archives in England with six letters in photostat received from the archives of Stonyhurst College and thirty-two on microfilm from the archives of the English Province in Farm Street, London. Copies of eight letters were graciously donated by the archives of St. Joseph's Central House of the Daughters of Charity in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Likewise photostats of four items were made available as a gift by the National Historical Publications Commission from the records of the Department of State in the National Archives. A film copy of thirteen letters was made and sent on from the archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec. The archives of the Carmelite Monastery in Baltimore was found to contain thirteen pertinent documents which were copied by camera. The next to largest body of Carroll letters was copied with a portable

microfilming machine at Woodstock College, Maryland. These approximately 200 papers were surpassed in number only by the seventy-five feet of microfilm from the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, made available by Archbishop Francis P. Keough, which constitute copies of the letters written by John Carroll. These drafts make up two boxes of original material but fourteen other archival containers of letters received and other documents were also filmed. This was done in order to have such material available for consultation and possible publication if an individual item should prove of extreme importance for an understanding of something written by Carroll. So far only documents of Carroll's composition have been enlarged for filing in photoprint form.

These materials have been brought together in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts at the Catholic University of America. The individual photostats and photoprints have been filed chronologically with each item entered on a three-fold index by date, by name of subject other than John Carroll, and by the number of its accession. They at present number 112, but the great bulk of material, namely, that from Baltimore and Woodstock awaits the completion of its processing. The two reels of film containing that material were recently enlarged into two rolls of paper prints which contained 2,340 facsimiles. A major source of Carroll material, of course, still remains to be tapped in the archives of Rome. It may be possible that the copies of some Roman material in the Monsignor Peter Guilday Collection may prove of sufficient worth where it exists in photostatic form rather than in typed transcript.

During the past year the editors in the field have been anxiously waiting but have been given little to do in return for their most helpful suggestions. In Washington Father Ellis and the secretary of the committee on March 3 consulted with Dr. Philip M. Hamer and James R. Masterson of the National Historical Publications Commission. On April 18 Dr. Hamer included the Carroll undertaking in his paper read at the Chicago meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association as one of five begun within the framework of the commission's program. The members of the committee were all sent copies of the National Archives Bulletin published during the year, entitled *Historical Editing*, by Clarence E. Carter. Some samples of the Carroll materials were sent out for observation in order that during this Christmas week meeting the committee members might arrive at some basic agreement on the approach to the editing which they are about ready to undertake.

The publicizing of the John Carroll project was done quietly, but where it was hoped it might be effective. A general press release was issued last May. A series of letters went out to some leading autograph collectors and their magazines and the work was announced in the professional journals and the general book reviews. The November issue

of the *American Ecclesiastical Review* carried a ten-page article on the project by the secretary since this periodical, while not an historical one, does go into the hands of about 4,000 prelates and priests. A group of graduate summer session students in American Catholic history at the Catholic University of America may also be expected to spread word of the project, since they were assigned to check on the location of printed Carroll writings in the journals which over the years have been devoted to publishing such documents.

It is too bad, in a way, that the committee cannot report the completion of the first stage, namely, the collecting of the material, but we feel, nonetheless, that we have made a real beginning. By next year we hope to have heard from the few areas as yet unaccounted for, to have all the materials controlled, and the actual editorial work well underway. I shall leave the details of the committee's inroads on the Association's initial grant of $1,000 to the report of the treasurer.

This report can best be closed by expressing the gratitude of the committee to all those who have shown such encouraging interest and support for this project. They include particularly the long-suffering but most co-operative archivists and curators of manuscripts.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. BROWNE, *Committee Secretary*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY:

In view of the fact that I do not wish to take time from the session on Catholic sites and monuments which will immediately follow this business meeting, I shall make my annual report this year as brief as possible.

Fortunately, the state of the membership of the Association is a healthy one. In New York a year ago I reported a total of 881 members, a figure which we have increased by twenty-one during the year that is now coming to a close. The summary of our membership through 1952 is as follows:

Membership, December 15, 1951		881
Resignations	21	
Deaths	7	
Delinquents	32	60
		821
Renewals	10	
New Members	71	81
		902

True, a gain of only twenty-one in membership over a year's time is not all that we should wish it to be, but when it is remembered that a loss of sixty members was suffered during the year through resignations, deaths, and delinquencies in dues, one may better understand why the figure is not higher. The greatest single loss is still encountered through a failure of members to pay their dues, and in order to emphasize for you how that factor tears down the over-all total I have summarized the figures for delinquents against new members for the last five years and they read as follows:

	Delinquents	New Members
1948	37	96
1949	62	84
1950	54	101
1951	51	83
1952	32	71

Therefore, our gain of 435 new members in the past five years was reduced by 236 old members who discontinued their dues. Our principal loss remains steadily in this same category from year to year, an experience which, of course, is not unique with us, as other learned societies report the same phenomenon. The following members were taken in death during 1952:

Eugene H. Byrne
Right Reverend Michael W. Lyons
Most Reverend Thomas F. Markham
Most Reverend James A. McFadden
William A. Needham
Right Reverend Peter D. O'Malley
Reverend Robert D. Quirk, O.S.B.

May their souls rest in peace!

The names and addresses of the seventy-one new members are as follows:

Mr. Maurice L. Ahern, Archivist, Fordham University Library, New York City 58
Reverend Bernard J. Berg, 40 Holland Avenue, Braddock, Pennsylvania
Reverend Guillaume Berthier de Sauvigny, C.J.M., Willowbrook Seminary, Hyattsville, Maryland.
Sister Joan Bland, S.N.D., Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.
Reverend Raymond E. Blust, 650 Grand Concourse, New York City 51
Reverend John F. Broderick, S.J., Weston College, Weston 93, Massachusetts
Mr. Franklin W. Burch, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Robert F. Byrnes, 7217 Blair Road, N.W., Washington 12, D. C.
Reverend Edward B. Carley, St. Mary's Rectory, Cambridge, Maryland
Sister Mary Therese Celine, B.V.M., 834 W. 18th Street, Chicago 8, Illinois
Miss Frances S. Childs, 167 E. 82nd Street, New York City 28
Miss Mildred M. Connely, 650 Merrick Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan
Miss Dorothy Angela Conroy, 114-35 203rd Street, St. Albans 12, New York
Most Reverend William E. Cousins, 740 N. Glen Oak Drive, Peoria, Illinois
Mr. Aloysius Croft, 8133 Warren Avenue, Milwaukee 13, Wisconsin
Sister Mary Daniel, Mt. St. Mary College Library, Hooksett, New Hampshire
Reverend Sherwin Derouin, O.F.M.Cap., St. Fidelis Seminary, Herman, Pennsylvania
Most Reverend Robert J. Dwyer, 129 Court Street, Reno, Nevada
Sister M. Edmund, O.P., 77 Ames Avenue, Rutherford, New Jersey
Mr. Louis F. Egeck, 5203 N. Addison St., Spokane 23, Washington
Reverend Charles J. Fabing, Box 5, Deer Lodge, Montana
Mr. Charles A. Field, 1827 White Oak Drive, Raleigh, North Carolina
Reverend Edward T. Gilbert, Box 224, Goldsboro, North Carolina
Reverend Francis J. Gray, O.F.M., 600 Sound View Avenue, New York City 72
Reverend C. F. Griffith, St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa
Reverend Basil Haren, 1160 Broadway, Bedford, Ohio
Reverend Martin F. Hasting, S.J., St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Missouri
Reverend Matthew J. Healy, S.J., 30 W. 16th Street, New York City 11
Reverend Harold E. Hicks, 546 W. 150th Street, New York City 31
Most Reverend Joseph H. Hodges, 316 E. Marshall Street, Richmond 19, Virginia
Reverend Gerald A. Kinsella, S.J., Fairfield University, Fairfield, Connecticut
Brother Thomas P. Kostka, Iona College, New Rochelle, New York
Dr. George N. Kramer, 3435 W. 78th Street, Los Angeles 43, California
Reverend Hermes Krielkamp, O.F.M.Cap., St. Felix Seminary, Route 8, Huntington, Indiana
Mr. Harold D. Langley, 4433 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania
Right Reverend George J. Larkin, 2849 Brendan Avenue, Baltimore 13, Maryland
Reverend Maurice Link, S.J., Xavier University, Cincinnati 7, Ohio

Mr. John A. Lukacs, Chestnut Hill College, Philadelphia 18, Pennsylvania

Mrs. John J. McArdle, 1562 Unionport Road, New York City 62

Honorable Matthew F. McGuire, 2701 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Right Reverend Charles D. McInnis, 676 Washington Street, Brighton 35, Massachusetts

Right Reverend Thomas F. McNally, 604 West Avenue, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania

Reverend Edward D. McShane, S.J., Alma College, Alma, California

Dr. Thomas H. D. Mahoney, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Reverend Mario A. Mich, S.D.B., Don Bosco College, Newton, New Jersey

Mr. Wilfrid G. Minner, Bally, Pennsylvania

Mr. John B. Murphy, Seven Oaks, Route 3, Kanuga Road, Hendersonville, North Carolina

Reverend John W. Murphy, C.P.S., Archbishop Stepinac High School, White Plains, New York

Sister M. Noella, O.P., Aquinas College, Grand Rapids, Michigan

Reverend Patrick D. O'Flaherty, 650 Grand Concourse, Bronx 51, New York

Dr. Rocco M. Paone, Riva, Maryland

Reverend John B. Pechulis, C.P., 5700 N. Harlem Avenue, Chicago 31, Illinois

Miss Miriam A. Riley, 591 Wilder Street, Lowell, Massachusetts

Mr. Thomas D. Riordan, 5444 Nebraska Avenue, N.W., Washington 15, D. C.

Reverend Augustine Rock, O.P., St. Rose Priory, Asbury Road, Dubuque, Iowa

Brother Robert V. Scanlon, Iona College, New Rochelle, New York

Reverend James P. Shannon, 1620 Whitney Avenue, Hamden 14, Connecticut

Mr. G. Howland Shaw, 2723 N Street, N.W., Washington 7, D. C.

Reverend Joachim Smet, O.Carm., Collegio S. Alberto, Via Sforza Pallavicini 10, Rome 113, Italy

Mr. Gregory B. Smith, 76 Kalorama Circle, N.W., Washington 8, D. C.

Reverend Nicholas J. Sullivan, S.J., Fordham University, New York City 58

Reverend Victor T. Suren, 3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis 8, Missouri

Sister Mary Patrice Thaman, C.PP.S., 3401 Arsenal Street, St. Louis 16, Missouri

Reverend Richard G. Theisen, 3520 N. Panama Avenue, Chicago 34, Illinois
Reverend Raymond Wahl, 1701 Locust Street, Sterling, Illinois
Mr. Joseph Whelan, 105 C Street, S.E., Washington, D. C.
Reverend Edward Whitley, C.S.P., 605 S. Chapel Gate Lane, Baltimore 29, Maryland
Mr. H. L. McGill Wilson, 2222 I Street, N. W., Washington 7, D. C.
Reverend Howard J. Wolf, 13205 Chapelside, Cleveland 20, Ohio
Mr. John B. Woodall, 4 W. 57th Street, New York City
Reverend John E. Wrigley, 5352 N. Sydenham Street, Philadelphia 41, Pennsylvania

During the course of 1952 the list of subscribers to the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW who do not, however, hold membership in the Association, was increased by four over last year's figure to a present total of 455, and the number of exchanges between the REVIEW and other journals was increased by eight to a total of 142. Thus the grand total of 1,499 who receive the Association's journal four times a year now stands at thirty-three above the figure reported a year ago.

Insofar as manuscripts received by the editors of the REVIEW during the course of the past twelve months is concerned, there were six more submitted this year than in 1951 for a total of twenty-three. Of these seven have already been published, twelve were rejected, two have been accepted for future publication, one was withdrawn by its author, and one manuscript still remains to be decided upon by the editors. There would thus seem to have been an increase in the amount of writing among the historians during the past year, even if the editors did feel that in a fraction over fifty percent of the cases the material submitted was not suited to the REVIEW.

In other categories, too, the activities of the Association during 1952 have shown a gratifying upturn. For example, 199 ballots were returned to the executive office in the voting for officers and new committee personnel and, in fact, the balloting was so close in several of the contests that the result was uncertain right up to the closing of the polls on Friday, December 19. This may seem a slight matter to many, yet it has significance in revealing the lively interest which so large a percentage of our membership takes in who shall man their offices and committees. At New York a year ago Monsignor Cartwright, our treasurer, furnished us with the good news that the interest on and dividends from our investments had netted $366.30, a handsome gain, to be sure, over the $137.50 earned from our government bonds in 1950. In 1952 these investments have earned the Association further gains with $396.00 returned during this year. All things considered, therefore, the Association has had a very good year, and we can face 1953 with the confidence that

unless some altogether unforeseen misfortune overtakes us we will be enabled to continue our efforts for the advancement of Catholic historical scholarship in a strengthened position.

Each year at the conclusion of the secretary's report the gratitude of all the members is expressed to those who have served our cause in a special way. It is a pleasure, then, to mention Dr. John H. Kennedy of the Directorate of Intelligence of the United States Air Force Headquarters who so ably and conscientiously carried out, with the assistance of Dr. J. Manuel Espinosa of the Division of Cultural Co-operation of the Department of State and Professor Harry W. Kirwin of Loyola College, Baltimore, the time-consuming duties of providing us with a fine program for this thirty-third annual meeting. We all owe to Dr. Kennedy and his colleagues a vote of sincere thanks. To Dr. Martin J. Lowery of De Paul University and his committee members we are likewise grateful for taking their time for the business of nominations for 1953. Although the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize did not make an award this year, we would, nonetheless, wish Professor Paul Kiniery of Loyola University, Chicago, and his fellow members to know that we appreciate the service which they have rendered to the Association by watching and scrutinizing the books produced over the last twelve months. And last but not least we are all in the debt of Father Henry J. Browne of the Catholic University of America for the thorough and efficient manner in which he has supervised the assembling of the scattered papers of Archbishop Carroll. Father Browne has given to this project during the past year a great deal of time and effort, the details of which you heard from his own report. This important activity of the Association has now reached the point where the secretary of the committee and his two colleagues, Father Charles H. Metzger, S.J., of West Baden College, and Mrs. Annabelle M. Melville of St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg, can seriously begin the exacting task of editing the papers of the founder of the American hierarchy during the coming year.

My final word is a sincere expression of thanks to all—whether named or unnamed—who have in any way helped to further the interests of this organization during the past year, a grateful acknowledgment that is accompanied by a wish for your health and happiness in the new year and for your presence with us in Christmas week of 1953 when we will assemble at the Hotel Conrad Hilton in Chicago for our thirty-fourth annual meeting.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Mass of the Roman Rite. Its Origins and Development. Volume I. By Joseph A. Jungmann, S.J. Translated by Francis A. Brunner, C.SS.R. (New York: Benziger Bros., Inc. 1951. Pp. xviii, 494. $9.25.)

On the jacket of this book we read "this is the most authoritative and complete work on the history of the growth of the Liturgy of the Roman Mass that has ever appeared." Indeed, this is a true statement. Father Jungmann has not only made a marvelous contribution but a most thorough study of the Mass. In this first volume translated by Father Brunner, we have the history and detailed analysis of the prayers and rites of the Mass from the preparation for the Holy Sacrifice to the *Oremus* following the Credo. For all of us, clergy as well as laity, trying to deepen our appreciation and understanding of the genuine theological meaning of the Mass, this classic gives a wealth of information.

In great detail, the history of the Mass is described from the first Maundy Thursday down to the present time. From what cities did the main types of the liturgies or rites arise? How did the people and priests of Corinth, Antioch, and Rome in the first century "break the bread" or celebrate the eucharistic sacrifice? What distinguishing characteristics are to be noted in the many Latin rites? When did Latin become the language of the Roman oblation? How did the Celts, the Franks, and the people of the northern countries accept the transplanted Roman rite? When did the faithful cease to take such an active part in the Mass? When did they begin to only "hear" or "attend" the Mass? What about the use of the traditional Latin language, a question proposed frequently in our own day? These and many other interesting historical questions are traced and answered in this commendable work of Father Jungmann.

Every devout Catholic will enjoy the historical development of the various ceremonies and prayers, a descriptive treatise not too drawn out but a clear presentation of their true and real significance. To cite only a few, we make mention of the kissing of the altar and the gospel book, the incensation of the altar, the Dominus Vobiscum heard so frequently. Or who could not love the Mass more for having read his development of the Kyrie Eleison or the Gloria in Excelsis Deo?

Father Jungmann has produced a superb work for which all Catholics, religious and lay alike, will be grateful and will always remain in his debt. This publication, illustrative of long research, represents genuine scholarship. The author has exhausted all the works at his disposal, and

has presented his findings with most valuable footnotes in a very readable volume. The book, with only a few typographical errors, is well set up on a fine quality paper and has a very substantial binding. However, it is to be deeply regretted that such a prohibitive price has been placed on it, making it almost unavailable to many Catholics ever anxious to understand better the full, genuine meaning of the Mass.

WALTER J. SCHMITZ

The Catholic University of America

Studi Gregoriani. Volume IV. Edited by G. B. Borino. (Rome: Angelo Signorelli. 1952. Pp. 466.)

The appearance of the latest volume of this important series confirms the editor's confidence in the continued interest of historians in the eleventh-century reform movement. The reader will find the origin and current plan of the series, as well as the contents of the previous volumes, reported in this REVIEW, XXXV (1949-50), 180 ff.; XXXVI (1950-51), 57 ff. The high quality of the earlier contributions is maintained in the eleven studies presented here, which may be grouped as follows in view of certain affinities of subject matter.

H. X. Arquillière, "Grégoire VII, à Canossa, a-t-il réintégré Henri IV dans sa fonction royale?" in response to some criticisms by A. Fliche (*Studi Gregoriani* I), reaffirms the position first expressed in his *Saint Grégoire VII* (1934) that Henry was absolved from excommunication but not restored to rule by the Pope's act at Canossa. The controversy turns in part on the use of the title of king for Henry after Canossa. A point that might well enter the discussion in this regard is the religious character of kingship. Once absolved, was there any reason to withhold the title from one who was *in regem unctus,* quite apart from the question of a resumption of active rule? L. Tondelli, "Scavi archeologici a Canossa," reviews the evidence of the nineteenth-century excavations and finds therein a verification of the reference of Lambert of Hersfeld to the three walls encircling the celebrated stronghold and consequently a confirmation of the remainder of his detailed report of the famous scene.

H. Weisweiler, "Die päpstliche Gewalt in den Schriften Bernolds von St. Blasien aus dem Investiturstreit," examines the dogmatic basis of the doctrine of this loyal supporter of Pope Gregory on papal power. He finds his chief source in the Petrine texts of Matthew and shows both his dependence on Gregory's writings and his own originality in working over the traditional material, as well as the strictly religious nature of this power in Bernold's conception, which admitted no compromise

and imposed a religious obligation for its defense. R. Elze, "Das 'Sacrum Palatium Lateranense' im 10. u. 11. Jahrhundert," explores certain aspects of the *imitatio imperii* in the evolution of the papal curia in this period of rapid developments. And W. Ullmann, "Cardinal Humbert and the Ecclesia Romana," in an article which merits lengthier comment than this review permits, sees the seeds of curial constitutionalism in the celebrated Fragment B: *De sancta Romana ecclesia,* now attributed to the Lorraine cardinal, which was widely and almost exclusively known later through the excerpt in Gratian (D. 40, c. 6). Humbert also figures largely in H. Tritz, "Die hagiographischen Quellen zur Geschichte Papst Leos IX." In Part I of this lengthy study is established his authorship of the *Vita Leonis IX,* attributed to Wibert since its first edition by J. Sirmond (1615), which adds another important item to the growing list of the cardinal's recently recognized writings. A. Michel, the great authority on Humbert, concurs in this attribution.

Local institutions and personalities are the subject of some valuable studies. M. H. Laurent, "Chanoines et réforme à Aix-en-Provence au XI[e] siècle," traces the history of the institution and reform of canonical life in this metropolitan see, preceded by a useful analysis of the pertinent documentation, where a community of regular canons came to replace the secular canons in the course of the reform. A. Lentini, "Alberico di Montecassino nel quadro della Riforma Gregoriana," studies the relations of this learned master of the monastery school and close collaborator of Abbot Desiderius with some of the leading figures of the reform, his part in the Berengarian controversy, and presents a new edition of his *Vita S. Aspren.* K. Lübeck, "Die Reichsabtei Fulda im Investiturstreite," reviews the fate of the imperial abbey under the series of abbots who remained faithful to Henry IV and Henry V in their struggle with Pope Gregory and his successors. And G. Borino, "Cencio del prefetto Stefano," views the events of these turbulent years at Rome through the nefarious career of this Roman nobleman with a brigand's instincts, son of a former prefect of the city, who first appears in 1060, supported the anti-pope Cadalus, violently seized Pope Gregory at Mass on Christmas night in 1075, supported Henry before and after Canossa, and did his part to poison the relations between Pope and king before Henry's fateful step at Worms in 1076. A second contribution by G. Borino, "Note Gregoriane," presents some miscellaneous comments, notably a restatement of the view that Hildebrand left Rome with Gregory VI as a cleric in minor orders and made his monastic profession beyond the Alps, in all likelihood at Cluny, in response to a criticism of this view by Cardinal Schuster.

All those interested in the history of the Gregorian reform are indebted to Don Borino for his great services in undertaking this series

and it is to be ardently hoped that the continued co-operation of scholars will assure its continuance.

J. Joseph Ryan

St. John's Seminary
Brighton

Der einheimische Klerus in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift P. Dr. Laurenz Kilger, O.S.B., zum Geburtstag dargeboten von Freunden und Schülern. Edited by Johannes Beckmann, S.M.B. [Neue Zeitschrift fuer Missionswissenschaft. Supplementa, Volume II.] (Schoeneck-Beckenried, Schweiz: Administration der Neuen Zeitscrift fuer Missionswissenschaft. 1950. Pp. xx, 321. Sfr. 18.—.)

This volume is a collection of essays contributed by professors in the field of mission science and it is published in honor of the sixtieth birthday of Lawrence Kilger, O.S.B., in appreciation for his life-long service for mission science and as a research scholar. Professor Kilger started out in mission history as a student of the well known Joseph Schmidlin, professor of mission science at the University of Muenster. He became known through his critical studies of the early missions in Africa. During the years 1920-1925 he was professor at the College of the Propaganda and at the Benedictine College of San Anselmo in Rome. For the following years his great merit was his devotion to the task of carrying on the work of mission science, which had been halted by many vicissitudes in Germany. Living in Switzerland, he revived the scientific periodical of mission science, *Neue Zeitschrift fuer Missionswissenschaft,* founded by Professor Schmidlin, with a staff of former professors and research students. Professor Johannes Beckmann, S.M.B., has given a very appropriate biographical sketch of Father Kilger, adding a valuable list of his books and many articles, which runs to eight pages.

The series of articles which follow—thirteen in all—are studies about the formation of a native clergy in the mission lands of the last four centuries, with the exception of the first article by Father Zuercher, S.M.B., on "Canonical Regulations for the Clergy in the Third and Fourth Centuries." It is well known from the standard work by A. Huonder, S.J., *Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenlaendern* (1909), that the missionaries always realized the important need for the formation of a native clergy; yet many and strong objections were raised against it, so much so that this aim seemed to be doomed. Race and culture were the obstacles; in the beginning too hasty admission of new converts to the priesthood resulted in failure which, in turn, sometimes nullified or at least paralyzed sympathetic interests for native priests. Only through

the constant admonitions of the popes and of the general superiors of religious orders were the well meaning missionaries and bishops upheld in their efforts to train natives for the priesthood. These many problems are presented in these essays with a new evaluation and clarification through the study of new documents. Most valuable data are contained in the two articles on native priests in India by Joseph Wicki, S.J., and in Spanish America of the sixteenth century by Father Specker, S.M.B. To the article on India, which refers especially to colleges and seminaries, eighteen pages of unpublished reports have been added.

The next four articles deal with the Chinese clergy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are two character studies; first, the biographical sketch by Father Biermann, O.P., of the first Chinese priest and bishop, Gregory Lopez, O.P., illustrates his excellent and dignified character under the most trying circumstances of persecution, of the Spanish and Portuguese patronate, and of the newly appointed vicars apostolic. Six original letters (two to the Pope and four to the King of Spain) are here published from the Indies archives of Seville. Another character study by Father Mensaert, O.F.M., of a most worthy Chinese priest, according to his correspondence, is that of Pius Liu, Jr. The third article by Father Buerkler, S.M.B., is a most interesting study on the pastoral work of the Chinese clergy. Much of it is recorded in high praise of their zeal and prudence, but their shortcomings are also mentioned. Indeed, this historical outline is an honorable testimony of the Chinese clergy, for only a small number of whom there is any available literature. The fourth essay by Father Beckmann, S.M.B., deals with the use and study of Latin by the Chinese clergy. The use of the Chinese language in the liturgy, instead of Latin, had been approved by Pope Paul V, but shortly after this permission was rescinded. A papal brief of September 19, 1659, gave a dispensation (for seven years and was always renewed up to the nineteenth century) for ordination to those who did not know Latin sufficiently. In practice, however, this dispensation was less applied as time went on; instead the study of Latin was more and more urged and finally made obligatory. The famous Synod of Szechwan in 1803 which had thirteen Chinese priests as synodal members put its definite approval upon it. A final essay by Tragella on the Chinese clergy is about a memorandum by Joseph Gabet, C.M., companion to Father Huc, C.M., on his trip to Tibet (1846) in which he testifies to the need of a Chinese clergy and refutes various objections against them. An excerpt of his "memorandum" is here printed.

Two-thirds of the volume (200 pages) are given to the history of the native clergy of four centuries, 1500-1900; the last third of the book, (100 pages) to the history of the native clergy in the twentieth century. As an introductory chapter, a masterly statistical survey is given by

Anton Freitag, S.V.D., well known by his yearly reports and summaries of today's activities in the mission fields. He characterizes this century as the "era of the native church." Once more, the rapid increase of native priests brought to the front the old controversy among missionaries of *pro* and *contra* concerning the native clergy. These disputes have been definitely settled, as Father Freitag points out, by the statements and acts of recent popes in various encyclicals, in definite regulations to bishops and religious superiors, when the Pope finally created native bishops and erected a native hierarchy in India, Indochina, China, Japan, the Philippines, Africa and Indonesia, and elected the Most Reverend Thomas Tien, S.V.D., Chinese-born Archbishop of Peking to the cardinalate. Priests from the Indians of North America are not mentioned; their number, of the past and present, may be about six.

With the increase of native priests, the whole missionary work will become their responsibility instead of the responsibility of missionaries from other countries. They will have to face the problems regarding the culture of their native country with the Catholic religion, which is the problem of accommodation or adaptation. In the essay on India, the approach to its religion (Vedanta especially) is thoroughly discussed by Thomas Ohm, O.S.B. The essay on Africa gives information about the need for native (Bantu) Christian literature and is followed by an essay on the Christianization of death and funeral rites in the Cameroons. The last essay narrates the events and organization of the minor seminary at Vunapope, New Britain (Pacific Islands) during and after the last war.

This volume contains the results of excellent research and for that reason we would have liked to have seen also studies on the native clergy in Japan, the Philippines, Indochina, and Indonesia. Fresh historical research throws light on the problems of the past; and the principles for the education of a native clergy are evaluated for the needs of our days. These essays are another important contribution on the question of a native clergy.

MATHIAS BRAUN

Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church
Belle Chasse, Louisiana

Saint Francis Xavier (1506-1552). By James Brodrick, S.J. (New York: Wicklow Press. 1952. Pp. 548. $5.00.)

It was appropriate that Father Brodrick's work should have appeared shortly before the observance in many places in both the Orient and Occident of the fourth centenary of the apostle's death. Those who have

enjoyed the author's biographies of St. Robert Bellarmine and St. Peter Canisius will find many happy hours in this latest work portraying the great Basque. This volume might well be regarded as the most satisfying biography of St. Francis Xavier in the English language. The author follows his usual mode of presentation, allowing Xavier to speak for himself whenever that is possible in documentary form. The work is critical history. The research in great part depends on the studies of Fathers Schurhammer and Wicki as published in *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii,* in 1944. During the 400 years since the saint's death on Sancian, much apocryphal material has found its way into the biographies of Xavier. It is already known that many will not accept the findings of Father Schurhammer regarding the miraculous in Xavier's life. While not ruling out all the miraculous, some has been rejected. Father Brodrick has accepted these conclusions. It is not with ease that one can accept disillusion regarding one we love and admire. On the other hand, many will be grateful for the newer portrayal of the Apostle of the Indies. Through the centuries since Xavier finished his journeys for Christ, he has been pointed to as the ideal missionary. Nobody will question that he was such. Many missionaries (actual and in preparation) will be able to take heart in seeing more clearly the man they aspire to imitate. One can hope to follow Xavier with more confidence when he realizes that his ideal was not the recipient of supernatural gifts, the enjoyment of which he himself cannot expect. The memory of Xavier does not in any way suffer because he is not credited with the gift of tongues. He is worthy of greater praise in proportion to the effort necessary to make himself understood in a tongue which he little comprehended. In that effort he can be imitated. To come within sight of one's homestead while on the way to the missions and pass by without a last visit, is a missionary trait seldom found and hardly expected. It is well to know the facts regarding this often-told episode in Xavier's life.

What stands out in this biography is the saint's zeal and love for souls, and yet regardless of an all embracing love, he had a very human, and not surprising sixteenth-century Basque attitude toward the Mohammedans. Again it is consoling to know that his zeal did not lead him into the fallacy of indiscriminately baptizing thousands who were ill prepared. In each case Francis believed with reason that others would take up and finish the work of instruction, when he moved on in his search for other fields. That this plan was not realized in every instance was not the fault of the saint. Where such follow-up was forthcoming, the results justified his belief. The faith and perseverance of the Japanese Christians were without parallel. Although the preface of the book gives acknowledgment to a Sister Mary James for "the maps in the book, except the end papers," there are no maps in either the book or

the papers of this edition. It is regrettable that if maps were prepared they were not published. They are needed to follow the travels of the saint over waters and through lands unfamiliar to most English readers.

JOSEPH P. RYAN

Maryknoll Seminary

Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux. Tome XI, *Conciles des Orientaux.* Par Charles de Clercq. Deuxième partie: de 1850 a 1949. (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané. 1952. Pp. 498-1171.)

Since the councils of the Oriental Catholic Church held within the past century are not readily accessible, it is fortunate that a history based upon these documents can be easily procured. The Oriental Church deserves more attention than it actually receives. Much can be learned from the pertinacity of these Catholics whose daily life is passed among the Orthodox who have similar liturgies but a different theology. The solicitude of the Roman Pontiffs for the welfare of the Oriental Church is well known, but the co-operation of the Orientals with this solicitude together with its occasional rejection is not so well known. It is always a problem, in studying the relations between the western and eastern parts of the Catholic Church, to determine where tradition and discipline stop and ultimate authority must be obeyed.

The author of the volume under review is a member of the Pontifical Commission for the Codification of the Law of the Oriental Church. Significant parts of this law are already codified. The author is well qualified to produce a history based upon the Oriental councils in the last century. Some 200 pages precede the actual study of the more or less contemporary councils. These pages indicate the organizational efforts of the Oriental Church and include discussions on unification of the hierarchy, on electoral procedure, and generally on legislative progress. The study made by the author on contemporary councils is in considerable detail. Naturally, of course, every council is not subjected to the same scrutiny. But the plan for improvement in the government of this Church is constantly evident, and where this improvement is a landmark in progress the decrees of the council are given in full or at least in sufficient detail and text. In every sense, the use of this volume will yield the necessary information to the western historian.

Perhaps the most useful part of this work to the general reader is the last chapter entitled, "A Century of Ecclesiastical Organization in the Oriental Church." This chapter deals with discipline and theology. It contains sections on patriarchs, bishops, clergy and religious, feast days, Mass, and the sacraments. In regard to the last named section, compari-

sons are made with the codified Oriental law on marriage as promulgated by the Holy See. The appendix is a commentary on three councils of the Oriental Church. The documents of these councils are unedited. Two of these councils are of the Syrian Rite, one is Maronite. There are three interesting tables. These are a list of residential bishops over several centuries, a list of localities where bishops of the Oriental rites have their sees and, finally, a list of cities where councils and synods have been held between 1850-1948.

It is to be hoped that a reasonable diffusion of this volume will add to the knowledge and appreciation of the Oriental Catholic Church. Students of canon law and theology will be grateful for this work. There is no index. This is a definite defect. Books of this kind are subject to frequent reference and an index would be very serviceable.

EDWARD G. ROELKER

The Catholic University of America

Father Thurston. A Memoir with a Bibliography of His Writings. By Joseph Crehan, S.J. (London and New York: Sheed and Ward. 1952. Pp. viii, 235. 12/6.)

Father Thurston, the illustrious English Jesuit, was gifted with one of those prodigious intellects that we meet only a few times in the course of a century. He was a contemporary of Belloc and Chesterton and was on a par with them as a controversialist and a defender of the faith. With piercing logic and dogged tenacity he backed his opponents to the wall until they were forced to surrender or at least be silent. The present slender volume is in no sense of the word definitive. It is intended as a tribute by a brother Jesuit. We are given an intimate picture of the scholar and the priest.

Father Thurston, despite his scholarship, was not bookish. He was a real person, unselfish and gracious. Many have spoken of his saintliness, and, in view of his zeal for the things of God, we cannot say that their opinion is exaggerated. In his early days as a priest he had a difficult decision to make: should he devote his life to scholarship, or should he remain a pastor of souls? Although he chose the former course, his whole life was priestly in the best pastoral sense. In his almost fifty years at the London Farm Street church, he instructed eighty-nine converts and spent much of his time in preaching.

His scholarly work came at first in pamphlets written for the Catholic Truth Society of London. We can see the temper of the times in the titles of some of his early tracts: *Does the Pope Claim To Be God?*

or *Maria Monk*, or *Ellen Goulding, the Rescued Nun*. He soon found himself in controversies with H. Rider Haggard over the immuring of nuns, and with Father Vincent McNabb, O.P., in defense of the devotion of the Nine Fridays.

The high point of his career came probably in his controversy with the pugnacious G. G. Coulton, partisan chronicler of the Middle Ages. In reviewing one of H. C. Lea's works, Thurston had made the remark that "it would be a safe thing to say that in any ten consecutive pages ten palpable blunders may be unearthed." Coulton goaded Father Thurston into making good his accusation. An impartial third selected the ten consecutive pages "at a venture," and Thurston proceeded to find not ten, but some fifteen, inaccuracies. Coulton answered weakly that the section chosen was "particularly vulnerable."

Appended to the book is a forty-seven-page bibliography of Father Thurston's writings—in itself a real contribution to the history of the Church in England.

DAVID FRANCIS SWEENEY

Holy Name College
Washington, D. C.

Les Soeurs de Charité Dominicaines de la Présentation de Tours. Trois siècles d'histoire. By Cécile Jéglot. (Paris: Editions Bernard Grasset. 1951. Pp. 270.)

Miss Jéglot has added Volume 39 to the series "Les Grands Ordres Monastiques." Her subject is one of the great foundations of French religious women. The origins of the Dominican Sisters of Charity reach back to the *grand siècle* but their pronounced development came only in the past century. From first to last they have tended the sick and the poor, and have provided practical education for the underprivileged. Originally they brought industry into the country homes of France; latterly they have achieved great distinction in the field of hospital work and rehabilitation. Their work has taken them to five continents and they are found today even in Iraq and Morocco. While France is the chief scene of their European labors, they have thriving establishments in Spain, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and England. But Colombia, South America, is the field of their greatest expansion and success. Established in South America in 1873, the Dominican Sisters of Charity now number upwards of 2,600 religious in Colombia alone. They operate over seventy, hospitals with accommodations for upwards of 10,000 patients. Besides this significant work they conduct numerous sanitoria, orphanages, schools

for exceptional children, for the feeble minded, as well as institutions of learning all the way to the rank of colleges.

To crowd the record of two and a half centuries of religious life lived in so wide and diversified a field into the limitations of a small volume would be difficult to anyone in close touch with all phases of the work. Miss Jéglot's study is good as far as the origins and early activities of the community are concerned. She gives painstaking care to a discussion of the ideals and practical outlook of the Venerable Marie Poussepin, foundress of the congregation. The manner of their conforming to governmental regulation and the difficulties experienced under the Revolution are faithfully recounted, although one cannot but note that the writer has limitations in her ability to present the depth of conviction and religious loyalty that inspired the sisters. Matters of deep import are frequently overlooked in favor of some gossipy incident. And the further Miss Jéglot departs from the field of her immediate experience in France the more chatty and uncertain she becomes. She locates Fall River "au fond de la baie d'Hudson dans le Massachusetts" (p. 236), and discusses the development in Colombia in twenty-two pages, much of it chit-chat.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, the story of the Dominican Sisters of Charity is told in an interesting style with fit attention to the background of world and national events. The writer demonstrates over and over an easy familiarity with the history of France and its various governments. To read the volume is to rehearse a most significant period in the progress of Catholic charity.

✠ James L. Connolly
Bishop of Fall River

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Cases on Church and State in the United States. Compiled by Mark De Wolfe Howe. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. 393. $6.00.)

Current and recent preoccupation with the controversy over separation of Church and State is thrown into high relief by the publication of Professor Howe's compilation of cases in which legal aspects of the matter have been considered. These cases—in some instances they are rather commentaries than actual juridical determinations—were sifted out of the vast collection of legal materials which had been accumulating in this country since before the American Revolution, and were originally the subject of seminar discussion and investigation at Harvard Law School. With his explanation of the origin of the present collection, the editor and compiler also explains that this is a preliminary edition, and

that a future appearance of the work will include more extensive editorial annotations and comment.

The value of such a collection is at once obvious. Even though a law student may well find these pages more intelligible than his lay contemporaries will do, no one who wishes to be considered conversant with political issues now current can afford to overlook this volume. Its virtues are many and great, and its defects not only slight, but largely attributable to the composing room or proofreader. A more convenient way of appraising the thought concerning the relations between Church and State, as this thought has been developed in the United States, would be difficult to imagine.

Actually it is the relation between Church and State, or between organized religious groups and the civil government, rather than the question of separation between Church and State, which forms the theme of this book. Divided into five sections, it reproduces speeches, judicial decisions, juridical opinions, and some learned though non-legal comment on questions ranging over the historical era beginning in 1763, and continuing to the present. From the first section, which deals with the disestablishment of churches, to the fifth, concerned with education, the volume presents clearly most of the evidence needed to draw conclusions concerning the American situation in the matter of Church-State relationships. Whether it was the intention of the editor to show it or not, the record seems quite conservative and progresses logically from origins in English common law practice to modern consequences. This is not to contend that every reader will agree, necessarily, that no other course could have been followed by the courts in given instances, but what the court has done in the matter of the relations between Church and State it has done in accordance with the common law principle of *stare decisis*.

Each section has within it a chronological development of the general theme of the book. Thus, in the first section, concerning disestablishment, the record is traced from Patrick Henry's speech defending Baptist ministers to Mr. Justice Rutledge's history of disestablishment in the 1947 decision of the Everson case. The second section treats of the Church as a corporation, tracing legal comment on this matter from 1786 to a 1950 decision concerning property owned by the Russian Orthodox Church in New York. Part three considers the effect of ecclesiastical adjudication, from a Vermont case involving Presbyterian legislation in 1846, to a New York case involving Catholic doctrine on marriage and divorce in 1942. The fourth chapter deals with police powers, as these affect Church-State relationships, from an observation made by Chancellor Kent concerning a petition for divorce in 1818 to an article written by Elia Kazan concerning censorship of motion pictures in 1951. The concluding chapter deals with matters of education as affected by

Church-State relationships, from a Massachusetts case decided in 1859 to a New York case determined in 1951. One observation may immediately be made from this brief summary of the chapter contents: each chapter begins at a somewhat later date in its coverage than the last. Is this because the editor wished to avoid repetition, or because some topics were not considered as early by the courts as were others, or because the apparent objectivity of the treatment is partially nullified by careful selection?

The last possibility is mentioned as a caution for future editions of the work, which will assuredly bear a much longer introduction and explanation of the plan of procedure than the present volume carries. So far as it is possible for an anthologist, editor, and compiler to remain objective, Mr. Howe seems to have succeeded admirably. His transitional comments are lucid, succinct, and unobtrusive, weaving together in a masterly fashion materials which have a stubborn life of their own and which do not ordinarily yield to persuasion such as is exercised here. But the process will have to be exposed in greater detail if the charge of subjectivity is to be avoided. There are areas, furthermore, in which the usefulness of the definitive volume can be much expanded. The court's exploration of the full faith and credit clause in regard to state divorce laws, and the manner in which the doctrine has changed should certainly be considered as allied to the relations between Church and State; room should certainly be made for some cases showing the divergent practice in such states as California and Louisiana, where the Napoleonic Code and the civil law have been modified by contact with the common law. Otherwise, there is little criticism which can be made in any corrective fashion, except to say that a lithoprinted book with so many typographical errors, with no index, and with its right margins not rectified, seems somewhat overpriced at $6.00. When these errors are corrected, and the book is reissued in a somewhat more conventional format, its usefulness will no doubt be much increased.

SISTER MARIE CAROLYN KLINKHAMER

The Catholic University of America

Cathedrals in the Wilderness. By J. Herman Schauinger. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. xiii, 334. $4.00.)

Mr. Schauinger's conclusion about the subject of his biography is aptly stated in the opening sentence: "There was a man sent from God, whose name was Benedict Joseph Flaget." Man from God and man of God, Flaget certainly dominated the scene in the Catholic Church of the early American West during his forty-year episcopacy at Bardstown and Louisville.

The domination of an age in the history of the Church in any locality is a magnificent accomplishment at any time, but the wonderful character and personal magnetism of Bishop Flaget is more clearly evident when he is set in the circle of his outstanding contemporaries as this book presents him. The holiness, the administrative ability, the understanding in practical situations, the wisdom in making personal choices, the personal charm, and the dynamic Christian character of Flaget glow even in the bright light cast by David, Bruté, Badin, Nerinckx, DuBourg, Rosati, Edward Dominic Fenwick, Francis Patrick Kenrick, Martin John Spalding, and others who surrounded him in the West. The author concerns himself with these characteristics of Flaget mainly by presenting in a factual way what the great bishop said and did. He presents the facts clearly, but he leaves the conclusions to be drawn from the facts by the reader; rarely does he wander off into adulation or into speculation about what the facts prove. Yet, the story as told is much more than a chronology of events; occasional stories add interest and humor without detracting from the historical value of the work. Some of Flaget's trips, however, are chronicled in the style of a journal, while others are only mentioned briefly. Because of the intrinsic interest of the material, nevertheless, no dullness seeps in here. *Cathedrals in the Wilderness* is acceptable both as an historical work and as a popular biography.

The story is accurately and interestingly told, but there are faults of style. Involved sentences sometimes become confusing, and some skipping about results from starting one episode and then inserting several others before getting to the core of the original story. Also, the movement from subject to subject is done rather bluntly without easy transfer or close connection. Some of the confusion may be the consequence of insertions into the narrative—at the place where the names are first significantly mentioned—of life stories for many of the characters introduced that remind one of the sketches to be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

The book is divided into twelve untitled chapters and an epilogue, followed by eleven pages of footnotes, three pages of bibliography, and six pages of index. Most of the footnotes are reference notes to letters from or to Flaget or David, and they indicate the extensive research of the author into primary sources wherever available. Occasionally, however, quotations are made without immediate reference to the source. The bibliography is necessarily brief; and the index, principally an index of names of persons, institutions, and places, though not complete, is adequate. Besides the large frontispiece of Flaget, there are four other illustrations.

Several minor inaccuracies or inconsistencies in spelling and in names of persons and places occur. In several instances, the same place or

institution is named by means of two different forms. Perhaps, it is too strong a statement to say of John Carroll that "his first four successors were far inferior in every respect" (p. 132).

It is hoped that these minor criticisms will not prevent anyone reading *Cathedrals in the Wilderness,* not only the life story of one of the greatest and holiest of American bishops, but also the story of the foundation, growth, and development of the Church in the early American West during the long reign of Benedict Joseph Flaget, S.S. This is the only modern, easily available, and easily readable life of the distinguished "Patriarch of the West." It is a long needed, enthusiastically welcomed contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

St. Thomas Seminary VINCENT MCMURRY
Louisville

Father Hecker and His Friends. By Joseph McSorley, C.S.P. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1952. Pp. xviii, 304. $3.95.)

Father Walter Elliott, C.S.P., biographer and "faithful mirror" of the Paulist founder, Isaac Hecker, died in 1928. On that occasion an American Catholic editor reflected how the "characteristically Paulist phenomena" of parochial missions, considered so radical a century ago, had long since proved their worth and were today taken for granted. Now the Paulist historian, Father McSorley, gives us a scholarly but entertaining account of the origins and ideals of this unique American religious community. It takes the form of sixteen annotated studies, a form which, it is true, necessitates a certain amount of repetition, but which is still probably the best approach, considering the variety of topics.

The Paulist movement may be said to date from the entrance into the Redemptorists of five very able and very Yankee converts from Protestantism. They were Isaac T. Hecker, Clarence A. Walworth, Augustine F. Hewitt, George Deshon, and Francis A. Baker. When these men proved to be effective missionaries, particularly among the Protestant Americans whose viewpoint their own background made them keenly aware of, the others sent Father Hecker to Europe to petition their superiors to assign them to this specialized missionary work. Far from granting the petition, the Redemptorist authorities decided to dismiss the group from the order in summary fashion. Turning to the Holy See with a deferential plea for vindication, Hecker finally won a decision which was not only charitable but providential. Pius IX encouraged him and his companions to found a new missionary community of their own.

Thus it was that in 1858 the Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle came into being. In writing its rule and setting its spirit, Father Hecker and his associates did not hesitate to adopt certain regulations and

policies which struck some observers as questionable in those days, and which were subjected to still grosser misinterpretation during the "Americanism" controversy in the 1890's. Whatever one may think of Hecker's theory of religious vows, of his emphasis on individual inspiration, of his sanguine view of American Christianity, one who reads McSorley must agree that these were actually incidental matters. Substantially, Hecker and his friends were very holy men, perfectly orthodox, and just as sound in their Catholicism as the born Catholics of Irish or German antecedents who sometimes looked asquint at them. Furthermore, they had a better understanding of the American mind than most of their Catholic contemporaries. Even today, when our Catholicism is much more truly American than it was in the nineteenth century, Catholics would give less grounds to Protestants for the accusations of social clannishness if they reread and heeded the writings of Father Hecker. Beyond that, the Paulists have made a rich and varied contribution to our national Catholic life, in missionary methods, catechetics, liturgics, total abstinence, convert societies, and, last but not least, the Catholic press.

Naturally, Father McSorley approaches his subject sympathetically, and his anecdotic sketches of Hecker, Brownson, Elliott, and the remarkable Paulist pioneers, are as affectionate as they are vivid and delightful. This sympathy does not prevent him from being objective, however. That is what makes his account of the Redemptorist question and the Walworth episode, and his characterizations of Hecker and the rest so satisfying; pros and cons are both presented, and discussed calmly and charitably. Because *Father Hecker and His Friends,* although not a large book, cuts across so many developments of late nineteenth-century American Catholicism, it is a work of real value for students of many phases of that period's history.

The Most Reverend John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., Archbishop of Philadelphia, contributed the introduction. The book, apart from a very few slips, is well composed. A good index goes a long way toward remedying the defects inherent in the form of organization adopted.

ROBERT F. MCNAMARA

St. Bernard's Seminary

GENERAL HISTORY

The Archeology of World Religions. The Background of Primitivism, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, Islam, and Sikhism. By Jack Finegan. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 599. $10.00.)

This book is a sequel to the author's *Light from the Ancient Past: The Archeological Background of the Hebrew-Christian Religion* (Princeton,

1946). The general plan of presentation is the same, and an equally high standard of scholarship would seem to be maintained throughout the work. The terms archeology and archeological are again used in the old and broader connotation. While the major emphasis is placed on monumental remains and their evidence, the literary tradition, where it exists, is carefully examined, and the liberal citation of the literary sources in translation gives greater authority and value to the exposition. In the case of the historical religions covered, a good sketch of the political and cultural background precedes or accompanies the treatment of each religion proper.

The first chapter or division of the book is entitled "Primitivism." Under this head the author deals with the characteristic features of primitive religion, with the religion of prehistoric man, and with the religion of modern primitive or marginal peoples. The question of the origins of religion is handled in a refreshingly careful and objective manner. It is recognized that the combined evidence of prehistoric archeology and cultural anthropology cannot carry us beyond the Upper Palaeolithic Age, and that, while it cannot be demonstrated by science that monotheism was universal at the earliest stage of religion known, it is certain that monotheism was one of the earliest and widely distributed forms of religion. The treatment of the cave art of western Europe and its relation to religion is excellent. The religions of the modern primitive or marginal peoples had to be dealt with on a selective basis, the author confining himself to an examination of the religious beliefs and practices of the Congo Pygmies, the Bushmen of South Africa, the Andaman Islanders in the Bay of Bengal, the Azande of the Southern Sudan, and our own Navahos, Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches, and Zuñis. To the bibliography scattered through the section on Primitivism might be added the following: John M. Cooper, "The Origin and Early History of Religion" (*Primitive Man* [1929], 33-50), and now, W. Koppers, *Primitive Man and his World Picture* (London and New York, 1952).

The rest of the book is devoted to the exposition of the historical religions listed in the subtitle. The early history and subsequent development of each is traced to the beginning of modern times—in the instance of Shinto and Sikhism to the middle of the last century. While the reviewer does not pretend to have any special competence in many of the religions treated, he has acquired some familiarity with Zoroastrianism. A careful reading of the section on Zoroastrianism has indicated that the author has examined this religion in a comprehensive and critical manner. The footnotes reveal a full control of the latest and most important studies dealing with the development of Zoroastrianism and its many problems. On the basis of this experience, the reviewer believes that full confidence can be placed in the reliability of the accounts of other religions pre-

sented. An outstanding—if not the most outstanding—feature of this volume, as of its predecessor, is the wealth of carefully selected illustrations. It is a pleasure to state that these are unusually clear. In addition, the book is equipped with nine maps and with a very good index (pp. 565-599).

The Archeology of Religions is an excellent work, and one that could hardly be more timely. To understand the peoples of Asia in particular, we must understand the religions that inspire and guide their lives to a degree which it is difficult for the secularized West to comprehend. It is not enough to know these religions in terms of present doctrines and practices; we must become familiar with them also in the earlier stages of their development. Finally, it may be noted that four of the religions treated—Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam—together claim as adherents nearly half of the human race.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

The Price of Revolution. By D. W. Brogan. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1951. Pp. viii, 280. $3.50.)

The thesis of this book is that the present division of the world into the armed camps of the free and servile nations had its origins primarily in the revolutionary movement signalized by the successful American and French Revolutions. It is Brogan's conviction that these revolutions, by giving prestige to violence as a solution to the political and social evils of mankind, prepared the way for and the acceptance of the Russian Revolution of 1917. He calculates that the price paid for these three revolutions is the Leviathan State which now pursues so alarmingly its will to world power. Serving as an actuary examining the books of world history since 1776, Brogan assesses the rise and fall of Europe's major powers in the period 1789 to 1914, the impact of the Russian Revolution on the world, the rise of the United States as a world power, the position of the churches as a moral force in our time and, finally, the existing power equilibrium between the free and servile spheres of this globe. On the basis of this examination, he concludes that the resources of the free world are tenuous, indeed, and will become the spoil of the communist powers unless the free nations close ranks to a degree far greater than they have previously been disposed to or capable of.

The major criticism which may be made of Brogan's brilliant survey is that he constantly overestimates the varied external threats which the democratic nations face or have faced to the neglect of the internal failures of these nations. Of the many judgments issued by Brogan, only one may be isolated here for serious questioning. Joining a host

of commentators, he maintains that the unwillingness of the United States to play a full role in the international conferences following World War I was a major contribution to the failure to find a peaceful solution to the world's tensions. This reviewer has no chauvinistic reasons for criticizing this charge, but he feels that it is an accusation which does not go to the heart of the matter. American folly can be admitted, but the real tragedy lies deeper, in the play of the relationships between the major democracies of Europe. This is evident when it is recognized that centuries of diplomatic experience and skill did not enable English and French statesmen, in the years between the wars, to overcome the petty distrusts and suspicions which were allowed to substitute for a major co-operative effort. Such an effort might not only have preserved the peace, but it would certainly have preserved and added to English and French stature at a time when the dwarfing of the West was already apparent. Here is the great tragedy, the great failure. The test of maturity in nations as well as in men is the ability to concentrate on the field of endeavor which one can reasonably hope to command; it is not the ability to astutely complain about affairs outside one's control.

EDWARD GARGAN

Sheil School of Social Studies

Der dialektische Materialismus: Seine Geschichte und sein System in der Sowjetunion. By Gustav A. Wetter, S.J. (Vienna: Thomas Morus Presse im Verlag Herder. 1952. Pp. xii, 647. DM 28.)

Father Wetter is a professor of the history of Russian philosophy at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome. In 1948 he published a work entitled *Il materialismo dialettico sovietico,* containing the fruits of many years of study in the Soviet field. Instead of merely translating this book into German, however, he decided to recast the entire treatise, in the light of new western studies on the Soviet mind and also in view of some rapid changes on the Soviet intellectual front itself since 1945. The result is the present masterful treatise which is the most thorough, objective, and up-to-date study on the theoretical foundations of Soviet thought now available.

The work is divided into two main parts: history and system. The historical section, covering the first 250 pages, contains the essential background information needed for appreciating the present Soviet outlook. The basic borrowings from Hegel, Feuerbach, Marx, and Engels are first summarized, with precision and economy. Then, the Russian side of the development is traced, beginning with the pre-revolutionary varieties of Russian Marxism. The most valuable historical chapters are

those devoted to Lenin, the conflict between mechanism and idealism during the late 1920's, the violent "resolution" of this controversy in 1931, and a final amazing chapter on "Stalin as a Philosopher" (including his latest orphic pronouncements, concerning how problems in linguistics should be settled). In the systematic half of the book, the various aspects of Soviet doctrine are explained, with special emphasis upon the concepts of matter, dialectic, and the relation between being and thought.

The result is an orderly and authentic presentation of Soviet philosophy. The author does not confine himself to the usual quotations from the Hegel-Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin line of succession. He also delves into the ordinary textbooks presently being used in Russian universities, and makes illuminating quotations from the latest philosophical journals, Soviet encyclopaedias, and relevant official documents. Most of the critical remarks are reserved for the concluding chapter. Wetter is not as pessimistic as was Father Bocheński (cf. the latter's *Der sowjetrussische dialektische Materialismus* [Bern, 1950]), about the possibility of an eventual return to sanity, on the part of Soviet thinkers. Within dialectical materialism he perceives an inner contradiction between a sound intellectual realism and a distorting materialism. Wetter hopes that the former tendency will prevail, enabling Russian thought to rejoin the western tradition on a non-materialistic basis. In the actual situation, however, he admits that philosophy is being used as a mere party tool, which must conform with all the latest shifts in "orthodox Soviet science," as defined by Stalin. The book contains separate indexes for persons and subjects. This outstanding historical and doctrinal study deserves speedy translation into English, so that we may understand and be forewarned concerning the philosophy which regulates the other half of the world we live in.

JAMES COLLINS

Saint Louis University

Religion and Culture: The Christian Idea of Man in Contemporary Society. By Thomas P. Neill. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. ix, 102. $2.75.)

The title of this book suggests a lengthy study for which several volumes would be justified. It is, therefore, admirable that, in the scope of seventy-three pages, a luminous *exposé* of the subject is handled with inexorable and stimulating logic.

In a striking comparison Professor Neill likens culture and religion to "the universe whose planets are held in position by the sun from which they obtain light and warmth." That cultures and religions have reacted

upon each other cannot be denied. But Christianity in itself is unique. As Christ was both God and man, and as, through His person, eternity has intervened in the process of history, He gave an entirely different perspective to the relation between the Kingdom of God and the secular world. "Give back to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's," seems to have become a vital dilemma that science has solved in the last two centuries by the secularization of culture. It is the history of this misconception of a Christian world and its impact on our civilization that the author brilliantly demonstrates.

Man has forgotten that he was created to the image of God, and that this gives him his dignity and his superiority over the material world. Much emphasis is laid today on "human rights," but if social sciences are treated on the same level as physical sciences, the essence of the problem is by-passed, as man's soul and immortality are overlooked. Western culture survives with Christian premises, but does not live up to Christian conclusions, and Christians cannot and should not ignore it. They will find here food for thought.

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History. By the late C. W. Previté-Orton. Two Volumes. (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1952. Pp. xxi, 643; xix, 558. $12.50.)

Eleven years ago, the reviewer was asked by the late Monsignor Guilday to write a long review or short essay on the *Cambridge Medieval History* for publication in this journal. It appeared under the title: "An Appreciation of the Cambridge Medieval History" (XXIX [April, 1943], 60-64). Therefore, it has been a special pleasure to examine the *Shorter Cambridge Medieval History* and to write the present review.

The late professor Previté-Orton, one of the editors of the *CMH*, was invited in 1939 by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press to prepare a concise version of the larger history, which should retain its essential value as a reference work, but, at the same time, should be a continuous history and one that could be read as such. Previté-Orton was given a free hand respecting the arrangement of his materials, the retention or rejection of the phraseology of the larger work, and the correction of errors or modification of judgments in the light of more recent research. Upon his death in the final stages of his task, the duty of preparing the manuscript for publication was entrusted to Professor Philip Grierson of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He states in

his editorial note that the only major alteration which he thought necessary was to shorten a number of excessively long chapters and to change the order of certain sections.

The subject matter is presented in eleven books, comprising a total of thirty-eight chapters. The titles of the books will indicate the arrangement of the new work: Book I, The Later Roman Empire; Book II, The Break-up of the Empire; Book III, Byzantium and Islam; Book IV, The Dark Ages in the West; Book V, The Foundation of Western Europe; Book VI, The Twelfth Century; Book VII, The Papacy at its Zenith and the Secular Kingdoms; Book VIII, The Leadership of France; Book IX, The Fourteenth Century; Book X, The End of the Middle Ages; Book XI, The Transition to Modern Times. The last section of Chapter 38 is entitled "Retrospect," and is a kind of general summary. The new history is furnished with twenty-six maps, twenty-seven genealogical tables, appendices containing lists of the Roman emperors, Byzantine emperors, German kings and Holy Roman emperors, popes from 314 A.D., a chronological table of leading events (pp. 1128-1142), and a copious index (pp. 1143-1202). A most welcome new feature is the 265 illustrations selected by Dr. S. H. Steinberg.

The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History may be characterized as an excellent work. It is long enough to make possible a fuller presentation than can be found in the ordinary textbooks, yet it is not overburdening in length. The arrangement of subject matter exhibits a great improvement over that of the larger history. The old material has been reorganized, and each period is now treated in a continuous and properly integrated fashion. Likewise, in happy contrast to the larger work, the style is much more uniform and a certain liveliness, approaching at times a conversational tone, will not fail to please the reader. But it is more important to note that Professor Previté-Orton examined the old material of the *CMH* critically and took into full account the advances made in our knowledge during the past thirty years. A careful reading, especially of the chapters covering the content of the first four volumes of the *CMH*, reveals how systematically and thoroughly the author has exercised a revising hand. Moreover, the general outlook of the 1940's on mediaeval political and cultural history has definitely replaced that of the period 1910-1925. In many respects *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History* is really a new and independent work.

The following critical comments are offered. The *SCMH*, as the *CMH*, is primarily concerned with political and constitutional history. Cultural history plays a distinctly minor role. The Latin literature of the twelfth century, e.g., receives the briefest of treatments (p. 620). The "Goliardic" poems are mentioned, but the word "Goliard" does not appear in the index, nor is there any reference under the lemma, Literature, to the

Latin literature of the twelfth century. Dante's political career is mentioned several times, and his personality gets about half a dozen lines (p. 1103), but there is no formal treatment of the *Divina commedia.* Petrarch fares better (pp. 1103-1104). On the other hand, the few lines devoted to Chaucer are inadequate (p. 1109). Relatively speaking, the treatment of the universities, philosophy, and art is much more satisfactory. The Church and churchmen are occasionally handled a bit roughly, but, on the whole, with reasonable fairness. One could wish that the final "Retrospect" were somewhat longer, yet much is compressed into the closing paragraph which opens with this sentence: "Taken as a whole, the history of the Middle Ages after the ruin in the West of the ancient civilization is one of progress, progress in society, government, order and organization, laws, the development of human faculties, of rational thought, of knowledge and experience, of art and culture." Volume I is labelled, *The Later Roman Empire to the Twelfth Century,* and Volume II, *The Twelfth Century to the Renaissance.* Actually, on the basis of content, Volume I should be entitled, "The Later Roman Empire to the End of the Twelfth Century," and Volume II, "From the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century to the Renaissance." Finally, it is to be regretted that no bibliography is given; a good select bibliography would be very helpful.

The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History is a splendid work. It is warmly recommended to all who desire to possess a sufficiently detailed, generally accurate, beautifully illustrated, and readable history of the Middle Ages.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages. By H. C. Richardson and G. O. Sayles. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 395. $8.50.)

Mr. Richardson and Professor Sayles have made valuable contributions to the history of mediaeval parliamentary institutions and are recognized specialists in this field. In the present volume they give a comprehensive study of the Irish parliament in the Middle Ages, a study which is based primarily on unpublished manuscript material. The Irish parliament, however, cannot be isolated from its prototype in England, and the conclusions of the authors on the origin of parliament in England are important for the understanding of Irish parliamentary history.

It is their contention that Stubbs was too much influenced by the historical tradition which accepted the representative element as a necessary constituent of parliament, and which believed that parliamentary democ-

racy could be clearly discerned in the thirteenth century. They insist that the teaching implicit in the writings of Maitland must be emphasized and restated. This teaching they summarize in the following points: "while parliament may have special functions, it is not *sui generis* but an afforced meeting of the king's council"; that "since the king may summon whom he will, the presence or absence of elected representatives is a matter for his decision, and attendance is a duty, a burden, rather than a right"; that "certain conventions will grow up, the king's ministers will have great regard for precedents, duty will merge into right"; "but notions such as that of peerage and the right to be summoned will be seen to be of gradual growth, and the conception of parliamentary democracy will be still slower and more gradual growth" (Introduction).

The study of the Irish parliament begins with an analysis of what was to provide the two main constitutive elements, viz., the *commune concilium* and the *secretum concilium*. "The direction the development of parliament took in Ireland, as in England, was largely determined by the growing frequency with which sessions of what has come to be called the *commune concilium* coincided with sessions of the council in parliament." Then follows a description of taxation in the feudal state as foreshadowing the conceptions underlying subsequent parliamentary taxation. The Irish parliament proper is shown to have begun with that held at Castledermot in 1264. The reign of Edward II and the early years of Edward III witnessed profound changes in the English parliament: the conception of peerage took definite shape; and "the commons came to be invariably summoned to parliament, and came also to be regarded, in place of the baronage, as the peculiar representatives of the commune or nation at large" (p. 71). There likewise is shown here how the Irish parliament was assimilated to that of England, though there remained some important differences. The study continues in this detailed fashion and brings the history of the Irish parliament to the year 1494, when the passing of Poyning's Law marked the end of the mediaeval parliament. During the next phase of its history, the Tudor period, parliament becomes "more exclusively an instrument for giving effect to the king's will" (p. 280). Appendices include a detailed list of parliaments and councils in Ireland from 1264 to 1494, and copies of important unpublished documents.

Professor Sayles and Mr. Richardson have made a most valuable contribution to mediaeval history. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that their highly specialized study of the origins and growth of the mediaeval Irish parliament should have been presented with such detachment from the actual history of the country during the period.

PATRICK J. DUNNING
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Monastic Sites from the Air. By David Knowles and J. K. St. Joseph. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xxviii, 283. $10.00.)

The novel title of this first volume of the Cambridge Air Surveys series gives little hint that it introduces a scholarly work on monasticism which contains an unequalled collection of photographs richly illustrating the design and location of, and the effect of the dissolution upon, the mediaeval religious houses of Britain. Specialists might fail to inspect this simple but learned work were it not for the names of the authors, Dr. St. Joseph, curator in aerial photography in Cambridge who prepared the plates, and Father David Knowles, O.S.B., author of several erudite books on the monastic orders and buildings, who provided the text.

While not loaded with notes—a formal bibliography is omitted—the photographs and their commentary leave little to be desired. A happy compromise has been achieved in this book which is designed to interest both the academic and the general reader attracted to monasticism. Dom Knowles' introduction gives a brief history of the rite of community life, an outline of the basic features of western European religious houses, the differences of each order's construction, and several plans. His commentary on the individual plates offers a short history of the building pictured, its geographical location, an interpretation of the view, and at least one reference to a source of additional information, if such is published.

Of course, not every monastic site of mediaeval England is included in this book. However, there are 138 aerial views, 130 of which represent a variety of orders, houses, and locations. The monks of St. Benedict and St. Augustine each have more than twenty plates in these pages. The Premonstratensians have a few less than that number, while the Cistercians have the best representation with almost forty sites. Where possible, the authors have included a modern counterpart of the chief orders for the purpose of comparison, but which forcefully illustrates the indestructibility of the Church. The former houses of Grandmontine, Cluniac, Tironian, Carthusian and Gilbertine monks, as well as those of Franciscan and Carmelite friars and of some orders of women, visually narrate the history of monasticism in England. A few stimulating miscellaneous plates of mysterious import, a noteworthy panoramic view of the beautiful region of the Cistercian Abbey of Cymmer, and a good view of Cambridge, complete the volume.

This book contributes not only to an understanding of the material fabric of religious houses, its primary purpose, but also it clearly illustrates many facets of mediaeval and monastic life. The abbatial remains of Benedictine, Cistercian, Premonstratensian, and Augustinian monks,

framed in these photographs by fertile fields first broken open to cultivation by hands dedicated to the service of God, make easy translation of the word *défrichement*. One theory of town origins is visualized in Battle, "the classic example in England of a medieval borough which owes its material and civic existence entirely to a black monk abbey." Fishponds, canals, drains, conduits, dovecotes, and barns unite in these pages to breathe life into the skeletal remains of the religious life of a former age. Air photographs add perspective and environment to a subject. This collection, fashioned with care, knowledge, and artistry, amply demonstrates the truth of the old saw, "A picture is worth ten thousand words."

JOHN E. WRIGLEY

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MODFRN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Spain and the Empire, 1519-1643. By Bohdan Chudoba. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 299. $5.00.)

Although its title does not suggest it, this excellent study focuses attention on Spain during her so-called "golden century" as the dominating and ultimately defeated political power in Europe, not on Spain as a colonizing nation during this same century in the new world. It will be found valuable and important, therefore, by both the student of European history and by one whose specialty is Spanish-American history. For the latter it sheds light, indirectly, on some puzzling points concerning Spain's regime in colonial America, while the former will undoubtedly find the volume a refreshing and enlightening analysis of "the Spanish will," as the author puts it, "to lead and control the defense of Europe and of Christian civilization" (p. viii).

No matter how rich and promising they were, Spain's newly acquired lands in the new world did not constitute Charles V's chief interest. Personal ambition to function as emperor and eagerness to defend Catholicism against the Moslems made him primarily interested in the preservation of the Holy Roman Empire which at this time, as someone has said, was neither "holy" nor "Roman." Only later, after his death (1558) and during the reign of Philip II was Spain's defense program directed mainly against Protestantism in northern Europe, and this not merely on religious grounds but also and, perhaps, pre-eminently on political and economic grounds. Meanwhile in the new world the territorial possessions of Spain expanded and solidified to such an extent as to suggest the idea that, as Spain's imperialism declined in Europe, a new Spanish imperialism was forming in the world; that what Spain lost in power and influence was amply retrieved overseas—a remarkable

achievement in the circumstances—establishing and ensuring here that unity of faith and discipline which Charles V sought in vain to preserve in the old world. Thoughts like these inevitably come to a student of Spanish-American history when he reads this well developed and thought-provoking volume.

Spain and the Empire is not a work written for easy armchair consumption, no more than the writing of it was for the author a matter of surface study and recreational activity. One need only glance at the wealth of "Notes" (pp. 263-280) to realize how much time and labor went into its production. For this the author will receive deservingly high commendation from those students who take history seriously and who welcome scholarly works of this kind. It has a wide appeal and should find a place on the shelves of every worthwhile library.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK

Quincy College

The Age of Charles I. By David Mathew. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; New York: British Book Centre Inc. 1951. Pp. 340. $4.50.)

Archbishop Mathew has presented us with a sequel to his earlier work entitled, *The Jacobean Age* (London, 1938). It is not a study of the entire reign of Charles I, but rather of the period between the death of the Duke of Buckingham, a holdover from the former reign, in 1628 and the beginning of the Civil War in 1642 in which he sees "a certain unity." Making extensive use of primary sources, both printed and in manuscript, he provides character sketches of the king and queen, "followed by a survey of the European scene as viewed from England, and of the rival foreign policies within the kingdom." In the perspective of this policy the author then considers the work of the Queen of Bohemia, the king's sister, and the work of Laud and Strafford. Having considered the Established Church in his chapter on Laud and the suffragan bishops, two chapters are devoted to an analysis of the Puritan position and of the Catholic minority. Economic, social, and political life is then surveyed and two chapters are devoted to a study of the conditions which led to the Civil War.

The author sees in Charles' concept of sovereignty something of a key to all of his policies and activities. Perhaps the best chapters are those on the religious scene and those on the conditions within the naval service, both subjects on which the author has produced earlier studies.

Though an excellent scholar and one of the best English stylists of our time, Archbishop Mathew seems to have attempted to include too much. Paragraph after paragraph is overloaded with factual details.

Unusually perceptive judgments are tossed off in a clause. The net result is that while the specialist will be interested in the numerous details which would not easily be found elsewhere and will be delighted with the ingenious conclusions drawn by the author, the ordinary reader will find himself snowed under by an avalanche of what would appear to him minutiae.

It is fortunate for Catholic letters that the archbishop's appointment as Apostolic Delegate to British East and West Africa has not completely cut him off from his literary and historical work. We can hope that the author's own vast learning will not lead him into overburdening his less specialized readers in his projected third volume of this series, "The Genesis of the Civil Wars," and that this work will not be too long in preparation.

AUGUSTINE ROCK

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Salutation to Five. By Shane Leslie. (London: Hollis & Carter Ltd. 1951. Pp. v, 156. 10/6.)

In these short and characteristically brilliant essays, Sir Shane Leslie pays tribute to Mrs. Fitzherbert, Edmond Warre, Sir William Bulter, Leo Tolstoy, and Sir Mark Sykes, and prefaces it with an interesting retrospect of the international literary world he knew at the turn of the century. He has already written full biographies of Mrs. Fitzherbert and Mark Sykes, of which these essays are brief recapitulations that have a value of their own. His five subjects have little in common other than his interest in them, but he communicates that interest to the reader and has something worthwhile to say of each.

Edmond Warre, headmaster of Eton from 1884-1905, was closely connected with Eton from 1860-1920, and was already a legend there long before he became head. He influenced hundreds of boys who later occupied important posts in many walks of life, and was a power in English education during the years in which the hold of Christianity on the upper classes was so disastrously weakened. His muscular Christianity, much like that of Dr. Arnold, was no match for the disintegrating influence of the higher critics from across the North Sea. His reign at Eton covered both the great jubilees of Victoria. He was horrified when the queen gave a three-week holiday to mark the first, and labored long and hard, successfully, to prevent a repetition of such truly royal generosity during the second.

Sir William Bulter (1838-1910) served in the British Army in Canada, India, and South Africa. Born in Tipperary before the famine, he lived long enough to see the beginnings of Sinn Fein and to hear murmurs of disloyalty in the north. He spent most of his adult life in the army at a time when England was the greatest power in the world, and many people thought Ireland should not, and in any case never could, break away from a going concern. He tried hard to avoid the Boer War, and it was a desire to clarify and vindicate his stand in that crisis that prompted the publication of this book. Recent events in South Africa have justified Sir William's forebodings.

In some ways the account of a visit to Tolstoy is the best part of the book. The great man himself, fully conscious of being the object of a cult, and thinking it quite proper that he should be, is shown clearly as he was. The strange mixture of genius, buffonery, and quackery, with heavy Russian undertones, was recognized by the well-educated westerner, and the result is a most interesting essay. One of Sir Shane's talents is his capacity to evoke the spirit of a vanished age. Rarely does he do it as well as in his description of a pilgrimage to Ysnaya Polyana in 1907 by a young Anglo-Catholic from Ireland, fresh from Cambridge, the Sorbonne, and the Catholic Institute. Pilgrims seeking light from the East have been more numerous in recent years, but few of them recovered faster or learned more than he. None of them has written more engagingly of his pilgrimage, or more wisely.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN

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Vanguard of Nazism: The Free Corps Movement in Postwar Germany, 1918-1923. By Robert G. L. Waite. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 344. $6.00.)

The disconcerting analogues between Germany of the early 1920's and Germany of our early 1950's impart to Professor Waite's competent study a burning topicality which research monographs usually do not enjoy. For this is a tale macabre—the story of a Germany who in the fall of 1918 saw her militarism in retreat, her war machine crushed and broken, yet who produced within a generation a new and deadlier phoenix from the ashes of that defeat.

Who were the Free Corps? How did they originate? What impact had they on Germany's fatal evolution toward Nazism? This trilogy of questions defines both the ambitions and limits of the study. Generally speaking the typical Free Corps soldier was a student youth or front soldier—

reckless, restless, rootless, goalless, and amoral, fighters who in Goering's favorite remark, "could not become de-brutalized." Yet every long war leaves a certain legacy of such scabrous growths on the body politic and the more important question remains: how was it that these twentieth-century freebooters drifted eventually from grudging tolerance to positions of trust and importance? Part of the answer rests in the fact that they appeared to the masses as the saviors of Weimar Germany and only too late was it realized that they embraced republicanism only the more effectively to strangle it. In the early days when the army refused succor and when Chancellor Ebert desperately needed help to crush leftist uprisings, he called on his old comrade, Gustav Noske. Noske did not *raise* an army; from the various "volunteer" groups of Storm Troopers who had refused to demobilize he *collected* one. These men defended the National Assembly, crushed revolts in Berlin and Munich, made forays into the Baltic, and in the Kapp Putsch carried out a premature assault against the government they had defended.

Refuting the thesis of Nazi historians that the freebooters were articulate political soldiers fighting a crusade against communism and democracy and awaiting only *Der Fuehrer*, Professor Waite stresses that nihilism, activism, and opportunism—combined with a brutalizing of spirit and lust for power—were the real contributions that the Free Corps bequeathed to the Third Reich.

The author's expressed purpose was to write a narrative history, but the very nature of the Free Corps movement demanded a marked degree of psychological analysis; this phase of the inquiry has been rather reluctantly essayed and it can only be hoped that Professor Waite succumbs to the tantalizing temptation to explore further. What has been done is good.

CLARENCE C. WALTON

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AMERICAN HISTORY

Early American Architecture from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period. By Hugh Morrison. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xiv, 619. $12.50.)

Professor Morrison, chairman of the Department of Art at Dartmouth College, has aroused with this publication the interest and won the respect of both the specialized art historian and the more general but intelligent reader. It is a clear and ordered presentation of three divisions of American architecture which he has designated seventeenth century—colonial, Spanish and French colonial, and eighteenth century—Georgian. These

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are well defined and authoritatively discussed with a precision that is a joy to come upon in the profusion of art history publications that so often are characterized by both ill-considered opinion and vagueness of information. But nothing has been lost of previous worthy stylistic or regional studies. These have been drawn upon intelligently and contribute to a coherent account, revealing on the part of the author considerable knowledge, critical ability, and a natural sensitivity.

Reasonable emphasis has been given to the eastern seaboard, but one is well aware in reading the volume of the South and the West with their own distinct and peculiar styles, each helping to form the varied and intriguing pattern of American architecture. European prototypes are sufficiently discussed to allow no illusions concerning our dependence upon the old world. But worthwhile native qualities and adaptations are also pointed out without exaggeration or sentimental loyalty.

This work is generously illustrated with reproductions of important monuments, plans, elevations, and old prints, many of them new, despite the numerous publications already in existence. One is pleasantly surprised, too, with unexpected views of familiar monuments such as that of the Fairbanks house in Dedham from the Southeast. These add vitality to what might have been dully repetitious. The proximity of the illustrations to the discussion of their subjects in the text adds considerably to their usefulness and makes for comfortable reading. The index of institutions and individuals from whom the photographs were obtained, with their addresses as well, is a generous and thoughtful gesture on the part of the author and publisher. The author has been helpful in illustration captions and in the text with specific dates of monuments. Titles of publications that have influenced the course of American architecture have been stated clearly and completely.

His chronological and stylistic categories are colonial up to 1700, Georgian 1700-1800, and federal 1780-1820. This arbitrary association of the terms colonial and Georgian for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively may make it seem simpler, but the terms early colonial, late colonial, early Georgian, late Georgian and federal, corresponding to their historical chronology, seem more in keeping with the idea of the history of architecture as a subject which cannot be divorced from our social or political history. But having settled on his terms, Professor Morrison is clear and forceful in his discussions of them.

This book is a critical interpretation of the many facts which must be mastered for an understanding of a history of American architecture, and a sound evaluation of this first great period of the subject. It might be considered an important first part of a saga of American architecture, the second being Talbot Hamlin's *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (New York, 1944). We await eagerly a volume concerning the latter

part of the nineteenth century and the first fifty years of the twentieth wherein the revival styles, industrial advancements, engineering innovations, and new materials all contribute to what Mr. Morrison says hopefully could be once again "a genuine American architectural style."

VIRGINIA E. LEWIS

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The Confident Years: 1885-1915. By Van Wyck Brooks. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1952. Pp. viii, 626. $6.00.)

The Confident Years brings to a conclusion Mr. Brooks' five-volume survey of American letters since Irving's time. It follows the method of the other volumes and suffers from the same limitations. It is massive, detailed history: over 600 pages are devoted to a period of thirty years—a period, moreover, partly covered in the preceding volume, *New England: Indian Summer.* Yet for all the wealth of detail the survey is superficial, thin in analysis and historical generalizations. Mr. Brooks intends to be thorough, but he confuses thoroughness with cataloguing, omits important items, and makes disproportionate emphases. For example, Lafcadio Hearn and O. Henry are dignified by a chapter each. But the novels of the later James, cursorily examined in the preceding volume, are again passed over on the popular and mistaken opinion that they are mere technical curiosa; Crane, the most interesting of the naturalist school, is squeezed into a chapter on the literary life of New York City and is there reduced to fit a popular conception of him as the author of one book; the New Poetry is detailed with about two bare allusions to the Imagist movement which gave it much of its direction. An historian ought to be allowed his omissions and special emphases; but when these distort the historical perspective, the purpose and the method may be fairly questioned.

The method sacrifices probing into significance for a hybrid sketch, a composite of the biographical, social, typographical, and literary. The vignettes are entertaining when they succeed in creating a mood of nostalgic reminiscence of the pleasures of reading. But this is not frequent. The vignette deteriorates into a bewildering jungle of references, and the history drifts toward a hazy impressionistic sequence which, as in the following passage, appears disjointed even within its total context. One wonders, e.g., what alchemy conjoins so disparate a trio as Frost, Millay, and Stevens, and unifies by a single tone (what tone?) that large and complex body of verse between the two wars:

> Side by side with Robert Frost, Edna Millay, Wallace Stevens and others who were to set the tone of the twenties and thirties, Vachal Lindsay, Edgar Lee

Masters and Sandburg spoke for Chicago, where in 1914 the *Little Review* appeared. Moving on later to New York,— to occupy for a year or so the old brownstone dwelling of the poet William Cullen Bryant,—this was conceived in the Chicago circle of Floyd Dell and Sherwood Anderson, who followed in the steps of the "heavy feet of Dreiser." For *Sister Carrie* and *Jennie Gerhardt* "jolted" Sherwood Anderson's mind and turned him away from books to the life about him, while Dreiser had procured a publisher for Anderson's *Windy McPherson's Son*, as Frank Norris had procured a publisher for Dreiser. But Margaret Anderson of the *Little Review* had no use for Dreiser... (pp. 525-526).

Perhaps, it might be said in defense that since the method intends a panoramic survey, it is pointless to quarrel with it for failure to analyze content. But Mr. Brooks repeatedly insists that the value of literary art lies in the quality and significance of its content, and he believes he has sufficiently analyzed content to warrant the large conclusion that the liberal-democratic tradition with its cosmic optimism and faith in the goodness of human nature "stood for the whole nature of America and expressed its uniqueness" (p. 598). This thesis, however, is only sporadically touched upon and rarely specified: Mr. Brooks' purpose seems to be at odds with his method. If he had set about to realize his purpose fully, he might have discovered that his definition of the American literary tradition as Jeffersonian and optimistic is an oversimplification. The definition is stretched to include the naturalist novelists, whose frustrations and negations are mere "masks" behind which Mr. Brooks sees (much to the reader's amazement) "the Jeffersonian way of thinking." It is so formulated as to imply that what does not conform to the tradition is to be discounted as a passing phase; or when directly counter to it, as e.g., the work of T. S. Eliot, to be set aside as a perversity. But the Enlightenment and the varieties of optimism (Mr. Brooks does not distinguish) from Jefferson to Howells are not the whole tradition. There are varieties of pessimism about life and human nature from Hawthorne and Melville to the later Twain, and degrees of deviation from the doctrine of progress and democracy from Cooper to Brooks Adams. The T. S. Eliot described in the last chapter cannot be set aside as an atavistic perversity. His pessimism (which Mr. Brooks exaggerates), distrust of democracy, and dissatisfaction with the modern cultural scene are part of a complex current running back to the birth of the American Republic. His search for tradition in Europe is a continuation of a search beginning with the *Sketch Book*. His devotion to Dante belongs to a cult developed in New England, and the mediaevalism that this implies in the *Waste Land* is as typical of American culture as its Whitmanic opposite in Hart Crane's *The Bridge*.

The contrast (p. 606) between Eliot and Crane, the atypical and typical, is an instance of Mr. Brooks' distortion of the American literary

tradition; and the distortion is owing to a narrow and nationalistic literary criterion. Fully implemented the criterion means prizing the American subject, stigmatizing interest in European traditions as feudal and undemocratic, and disparaging a passion for fine craftsmanship as aristocratic. Most probably Mr. Brooks does not intend to revive a literary chauvinism that makes an issue of the nightingale in an American poem. But the germ of it appears in his critique of Eliot; and since this volume is the conclusion to a widely read series, it will encourage a cultural provincialism which (it is rumored) is a cause of the present decline of foreign language studies in American colleges. The Jeffersonian tradition means none of this; and it is deplorable to see the germ lurking in a history professedly Jeffersonian. Equally deplorable is the encouragement given to history writing which amounts to a medley of data without a strong sense of direction; and to the type of literary history which attempts to determine meaning with scant attention to form and style. Mr. Brooks seems to write on the assumption that questions of form and style have only an incidental relation to questions of meaning. But what Lowell said in his essay on Dante is pertinent: "In the fine arts the vehicle makes part of the thought, coalesces with it."

G. GIOVANNINI

The Catholic University of America

Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865. By Harry J. Sievers, S.J. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Press. 1952. Pp. xxi, 344. $5.00.)

All Presidents make history, and Benjamin Harrison is no exception. Thus his biography was to be expected. Mr. Sievers has undertaken this task, and in this volume presents the first half of a two-volume life of Harrison. Harrison, like his better known ancestor, the Hero of Tippecanoe, became a general and then President. He was a respected individual, but he made little impression upon his own or later times. Had he not become President his generalship and his single term in the senate would not have been recalled. As President he made little effort to provide leadership and allowed congressional leaders to do as they pleased. And during his administration statesmanship fell to a new low in a period that was characterized by a lack of this virtue.

This study is mainly concerned with Harrison's Civil War experience with some light on the years that preceded it. It suffers from its uncritical and sympathetic approach. Yet for all this Harrison still comes out as a cold, aloof, and undistinguished figure. But a far more serious shortcoming is Mr. Sievers' failure to analyze the political climate of the years 1854-1861 with a view to watching Harrison go through his political transformation. Since he became President and had difficulty

with free white labor, it is extremely important for the author to analyze his attitudes and positions on slave labor. Simply saying that he was opposed to the extension of slavery, pointing out that he arranged for Charles Sumner to state the creed of abolitionism in 1856, and referring to a few of Harrison's public statements in the election of 1864 leave the reader without any explanation of what motivated Harrison politically, especially on the slavery question which, as Mr. Sievers points out, "was setting the country ablaze." The two chapters that deal with Harrison's political experiences prior to the Civil War treat him and Indiana too much in a vacuum for a future President. The political material is too isolated with little or no effort to place it in its proper setting and to integrate it with the national political picture. Moreover, the political chapters are too much in a narrative and anecdotal form. This latter shortcoming prevents the author from explaining the switch of Harrison from a conservative position on slavery to the anti-slavery position of the Republican Party in 1856, which is a serious omission.

Finally, this reviewer, who personally examined the Harrison Papers in the Library of Congress when they were opened to the public, feels that their inability to yield much offers a better explanation why historians have not written a life of Harrison rather than because the official four years' record of the administration had been lost.

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS
University of Notre Dame

Lincoln the President: Midstream. By J. G. Randall. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1952. Pp. xv, 467. $7.50.)

The first two volumes of Professor Randall's multi-volumed work, *Lincoln the President,* were published in 1945. A year and a half later the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection (194 volumes) in the Library of Congress was opened to scholars. The "release of that vast treasure" to "the world of Lincoln research" has delayed the appearance of this and the succeeding volumes. Those important papers helped the author get a fresher slant on the President in the swirling stream of civil conflict.

This third volume—subtitled *Midstream*—supposedly is concerned with the White House occupant and the events of the last half of 1863. Yet, veritably, it is a catch-all—perhaps so necessitated by the opening of the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection when Randall was half finished with his monumental work. Less than thirty pages are devoted to military problems and the military campaigns, including Rosecrans' defeat at Chickamauga and the Union victories, under Grant's command, at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Randall begins by depicting Lincoln in his surroundings ("Presidential Days"), treats Mary Todd Lincoln sympathetically ("Lonely White House Pair"), discusses the multitudi-

nous problems thrust into the President's hands ("Attention of the President"), and sees Lincoln's jesting as a necessary part of his way of life ("The Gift of Laughter"). The author then evaluates some of the congressional leaders, methods, and measures. Generally, Randall justified Lincoln's actions regarding arbitrary arrests and the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. The necessity of maintaining governmental authority, democratic practices, and civil liberties in a time of stress and strain proved a complex and contradictory task. Political prisoners were numerous and Vallandigham's arrest and trial tested the President's mettle, patience, and wisdom. Horatio Seymour of New York also questioned Lincoln's acts and methods and earned a chapter ("Lincoln and Seymour") in this volume. Vallandigham's defeat as the Democrats' candidate for Governor of Ohio highlighted the political events of 1863. A two-chapter treatment of foreign affairs during the mid-war years rounds out the volume proper. An essay, in which Mr. Randall gives the story behind the Robert Todd Lincoln Papers and evaluates them, is included in the appendix.

The author never lets the issues or events of the period blind him to the fact that he is writing a biography. Lincoln emerges as a human being rather than a politician, for the wartime President possessed "that priceless element of human thoughtfulness and personal understanding." While Professor Randall views Lincoln sympathetically, his political opponents—whether Radical Republicans or Democratic leaders—emerge as mere obstructionists. Seymour and Vallandigham, for example, are removed from their setting and presented simply as able oppositionists.

Professor Randall, who has devoted a fruitful lifetime to the study of Lincoln and the Civil War, parades his learning, his humility, and his understanding of Lincoln in these pages. His grasp of the political and constitutional problems is truly amazing. Thousands of sources are cited to buttress his scholarship. This is interesting and scholarly history at its best—more readable than the other volumes in the American Political Leaders series. This work will occupy the first shelf in every library of students of Lincoln or the Civil War.

FRANK L. KLEMENT
Marquette University

American Russian Relations, 1781-1947. By William Appleman Williams. (New York: Rinehart & Co. 1952. Pp. 367. $3.75.)

This book must be pronounced a failure in spite of the considerable amount of research, much of it in manuscript sources, which went into its preparation. It is apparently intended to serve as a textbook, but the plethora of trivial details and unnecessary quotations, and the consequent difficulty in following the thread of the narrative, would drive the average

undergraduate to distraction. As a piece of research it is also inadequate, for its abundant use of American sources is not balanced by much serious research into the Russian side of the relationship, and for that matter the author seems to have made little or no use of a number of important American works which present conclusions strikingly different from his. Among these are General Smith's *My Three Years in Moscow,* General Deane's *The Strange Alliance,* and Philip Moseley's *Negotiating with the Russians.*

As a work of interpretation the book is still more inadequate. The author makes the assumption, which he never examines critically, that the Soviet regime has conducted a successful experiment in the adaptation of democratic government to the needs of an industrial society, an experiment which he feels contrasts very favorably with the fumbling approach of the western democracies to the same problem. From this postulate it is but a short step to the conclusion that in Soviet-American co-operation lay, and lies, the best hope of preventing the second and third world wars. The concessions necessary to make this co-operation possible the author envisages as due mainly from the United States. For the doctrine of containment he feels an unspeakable contempt, for he believes that the proper answer to "the challenge of Soviet power" is "a conscious effort to prove Marx's *predictions* to have been in error," by which he presumably means an effort to create a more nearly perfect society in the United States and elsewhere. How much an effort, desirable though it is, can suffice to save the Far East, the Middle East, Africa, western Europe, and for that matter the new world, from communist invasion or subversion the author wisely does not attempt to explain.

The methodology of the book is as faulty as its reasoning. After an uninspired summary of Russo-American relations before 1917 which takes up the first third of the book, the author plunges into the revolution and the Soviet period. He refrains from analyzing the views of Lenin and Stalin on the nature and conduct of international relations, an analysis which if properly done would vitiate most of his conclusions. The importance of relations with the United States in Soviet history, and of relations with the Soviet Union in American history, is generally exaggerated. The innumerable Soviet violations of the legal and moral principles supposedly governing international relations are either left unmentioned or presented in a subdued light.

I have tried, in justice to the author, to find something in his book to commend, but am unable to do more than to acknowledge his considerable (though insufficient) research and his inclusion of much information which may be useful to students seeking enlightenment on specific incidents connected with Soviet-American relations.

HAROLD C. HINTON

Georgetown University

The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt. Volumes III and IV, *The Square Deal, 1901-1905.* Volumes V and VI, *The Big Stick, 1905-1909.* Selected and edited by Elting E. Morison, *et al.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951-1952. Pp. xvi, 710; vi, 711-1438. $20.00. Pp. xxiv, 864; vi, 865-1715. $20.00.)

Attention has already been drawn in the REVIEW (XXXVII [January, 1952], 467-477) to the general features of the Roosevelt correspondence and to the factors which have governed the editorial policy of Dr. Morison and his associates. These scholars are to be credited with maintaining in the present volumes the same high standards of accuracy which were established in the first set, and they can hardly be overpraised for contributing to these volumes a greater number of judicious and valuable annotations and erudite essays, which reflect their forethought for every need of the reader.

During all but the first nine months of the period covered in the volumes reviewed here Roosevelt occupied the White House. Because of his conviction that the United States had attained a place among the leaders in the family of nations, and owing to his confidence in his own ability to make her respected in that role and to his natural zest for life, his letters concern themselves with every major issue and many minor points in the foreign and domestic policies that arose during the decade following the turn of the century. Among other things, his correspondence reveals the methods employed by a party leader in his efforts to promote and retain the personal loyalty of the party members and to realize the goals which, to his mind, would work for the welfare of the party and for the common good. There is evidence, too, that the great variety of his interests brought him into friendly contact with leaders in nearly every field in national life and caused him to express himself in a confident way on subjects that were foreign to the thoughts of the majority of our presidents.

Since Roosevelt usually revealed his thoughts in a clear and uninhibited fashion in writing to his friends, his letters will generally enable the student to trace the considerations that influenced his decisions on matters which have affected America's destiny. For the same reasons, it will be relatively easy for students to follow his reasoning on topics which call for the application of immutable moral laws, such as, the taking of a human life, race suicide, strikes, and war.

Among the problems in which the Catholic Church had an interest during Roosevelt's administration, those of the friar lands, the school question, and the Aglipayan Schism in the Philippines proved to be the most thorny. Scattered throughout the four volumes there are many letters that prove the President's concern for a swift and amicable settlement

of these difficulties for the sake of peace and because of the dangerous consequences to the fortunes of the Republicans if such matters were discussed over a long period, and especially if the unreasonable attitude taken by many Americans when the government negotiated with the Vatican should be fully exploited by political opponents. That he failed to appreciate the position of the Roman authorities on some points in the dispute is all too evident, and the editorial comments on the subject (III, 218 and 296) will only confuse the uninformed reader because they contain conclusions at variance with the facts. Furthermore, the congratulatory letter to Bishop Charles H. Brent (IV, 1188) for a scurrilous article on the religious conditions in the Philippines raises a question about Roosevelt's fairmindedness. However, the general tone of the correspondence leaves the impression that he sought justice as he understood it.

Besides the letters pertaining to the Church's interests in the Philippines and Puerto Rico—in which the names of Archbishop John Ireland, Brigadier General James F. Smith (who is to be distinguished from the less estimable Brigadier General Jacob Hurd Smith, whose name appears on the same pages), and Bishops Frederick Z. Rooker, Jeremiah J. Harty, and James H. Blenk, S.M., frequently appear, and the correspondence with Bellamy and Maria Longworth Storer, Charles J. Bonaparte, Eugene A. Philbin, and Richard C. Kerens, which deserves more than passing attention—there are items which give a picture of Roosevelt's relations with some of the Church's less distinguished members and of his attitude toward the Church's government and teachings.

While American secular and church historians must be grateful for this publication of Roosevelt's letters, all investigators should be reminded that many important items were necessarily discarded in this project. The letters here published, with an excellent index in each set, will acquaint researchers with the richness of the collection and facilitate the completion of the work they may have planned.

PATRICK H. AHERN

The St. Paul Seminary

The American Record in the Far East, 1945-1951. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1952. Pp. vii, 208. $3.00.)

When one of this country's most qualified observers ventures to report on the American record in the Far East since V-J Day, it may be taken for granted that the work is as impartial an account as any man can make it. For Mr. Latourette is too competent an historian to risk his reputation by posing as an oracle in matters Far Eastern. He has seen

how mistaken experts can be "even in the areas in which they are supposed to have special competence" (p. 5). Admirable as is this intellectual humility, nevertheless, it has an inhibiting effect on the over-all value of this book. The general reader will discover facts he may not have known before; the informed reader, however, will regret that so distinguished an authority is satisfied to let it go at that.

This is not to cast aspersions on the integrity of one of America's foremost scholars. He says he merely wants to write the facts and let his readers draw their own conclusions. A definitive study on post-war Far Eastern relations must wait on the future. Today there is need for the people to learn the hard truth. Hence we may assume from what we read that the situation in Asia is out of our hands and bids fair to remain so for some time. Nor does Latourette see how American statesmen could have avoided the present debacle considering the alternatives with which an unkind fate confronted them. Whereas a corrupt Nationalist government of China was too weak to eliminate the communists by military force or police action, on the other hand, if the communists were incorporated in that government they would have destroyed it or substituted one of their own. As to why or how we allowed ourselves to fall into such a dilemma, the author is less clear.

It is surprising to find that in briefing the reader with background material no mention is made of American recognition of the Soviet Union early in the Roosevelt Administration. Moreover, there are some statements that do not survive the author's best efforts to resolve them. For example, "In China the American entrance into the struggle against Japan made possible the triumph of Communism" (p. 199). Was it a mistake, then, to become embroiled in a war in the Pacific? The reader will draw his own conclusions with difficulty. Perhaps, after all, that is just the impression the author means to convey.

HARRY W. KIRWIN

Loyola College
Baltimore

David I. Walsh, Citizen-Patriot. By Dorothy G. Wayman. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. vii, 366. $5.00.)

Thoughtful men realize that democracy, like most things, is not perfect, but the life of David I. Walsh, like the lives of Abraham Lincoln and Al Smith are forceful arguments that our kind of government affords to the common man a vehicle for utility and influence in government not otherwise possible. In the life of Walsh we find the son of poor Irish immigrants who, because of his honesty, ability, and industry, achieved

a position of power and influence in government serving a people who by tradition were hostile to his nationality, religion, and politics.

Walsh adhered to his convictions with a firm tenacity. His Catholicism was not just a religion, but a culture and a way of life which had a profound influence on all his actions. His independence and honesty in politics caused him to lose favor with the city machines, but it also brought support from the independent voters of his state. He had a shrewd sense of political timing, and while genuinely sincere, he was quick to reflect the temper of his constitutents. With some qualifications, he was an isolationist, representing a traditionally isolationistic people. He broke with Wilson and voted with Lodge on the League of Nations, but in 1945 he supported the United Nations. He was defeated in 1946 by Henry Cabot Lodge, the son of the great isolationist senator and who was, in turn, defeated in 1952 by John Kennedy, an internationalist, but the son of an isolationist father and a friend of David I. Walsh.

The author may have been too friendly with her subject to make this biography truly objective, but her acquaintance with the late Senator Walsh was helpful in presenting to her readers a picture of a truly friendly, warm-hearted humanitarian. Some issues in which Walsh played a leading role may not be described in sufficient detail to furnish the readers in years to come with enough background to appreciate fully the importance of the controversies which he helped decide. The facts are well documented with footnotes at the end of each chapter. There is an appendix containing Barkley's statement in full to the senate exonerating Walsh of any connection with the sordid Brooklyn affair. The book, while not a definitive biography, recites in a fascinating manner the long and interesting career of an honest and sincere public servant.

THOMAS B. DUNN

Morris, Illinois

The Life of Sarmiento. By Allison Williams Bunkley. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 566. $7.50.)

The late Mr. Bunkley (he died just after completing this work) had already established himself as an authority on Argentina's Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, third president (1868-1874) of the former republic, statesman, writer, and thinker. In 1948 Allison Bunkley published *A Sarmiento Anthology,* a collection of important passages taken from Argentina's nineteenth-century philosopher. Since that date, according to our author's foreword, he had been able to examine more than 15,000 unpublished letters relative to the subject and to peruse most of the published works dealing with the life and times of Sarmiento. A careful read-

ing of the volume bears out this testimony, for the author holds close to his sources which are skillfully woven into the narrative so as not to obstruct the freedom of its flow.

One reviewer has remarked that this is one of the best books on Argentina ever to appear in English. The statement is correct if it be limited to the early decades of the nation's history, which were turbulent and anarchic. Sarmiento, reared in this environment and become soldier, was mauled and wounded, was thrown into prison, was exiled more than once. But in spite of these circumstances he read widely, became school master and philosopher, and governed. The biographer here portrays vividly the turmoil of those four decades from independence to 1852. During those years Sarmiento diagnosed correctly the disease which was eating at the vitals of his country's unity. It was personalism, the following of a leader against order and law, the same which has bedeviled the politics of many Latin American countries.

Sarmiento's last exile was put to excellent purpose. He traveled. France, his intellectual mother, disappointed him; Rome, his spiritual mother, warmed his spirit. Reared close to the clergy at home, his uncles being priests and bishops, he was inspired by the shrines and the art of the Eternal City, and was cordially received by Pope Pius IX. The United States comprised part of his tour of the western world. He visited this country as the exile of the 1840's and in the 1860's as an ambassador. Better than De Tocqueville he understood the bounding energy and vitality of the young nation and as president of Argentina he introduced something of what he had observed in the north. Sarmiento's reflections on the people of the United States, quoted directly or narrated in the text, will prove of absorbing interest to North American readers.

The first two chapters of this book offer wholesome and intelligent reflections on the psychology of "Hispanic Man," a psychology which helps to explain so much of history. And to make solid such reflections "Hispanic Man" himself is quoted and Sarmiento himself knew some of the answers well. Pondering the results of this psychology Mr. Bunkley offers a telling passage in his closing paragraphs:

> Sarmiento has been repudiated by the new personalism. His statues have been defaced by the "nationalist" followers of Perón. His pictures have been taken down from the walls of the schools which he founded. He has been painted in black terms by some of his latest biographers, and the historical revisionist school of scholars set out to destroy his reputation while white-washing that of [dictator] Rosas.

PETER MASTEN DUNNE

University of San Francisco

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COLLEGE LIBRARY

NOTES AND COMMENTS

With this issue of the REVIEW we are happy to welcome to the board of advisory editors Charles H. Metzger, S.J., of West Baden College. Father Metzger, whose special field of study and research has been the non-military phases of the American Revolution, has been professor of history at West Baden since 1934. He secured his A.B. and M.A. degrees from the University of Oxford and his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. Before coming to West Baden he had taught at the University of Detroit and John Carroll University. In 1936 his monograph, *The Quebec Act. A Primary Cause of the American Revolution,* was published by the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York. Since that time Father Metzger has published a number of scholarly articles in our own REVIEW and in other journals on various phases of American religious history during the revolutionary era. At present he is working on the part played by Catholics in the revolution.

The Reverend Francis X. Curran, S.J., of New York returned from Europe in early January. Since last September he has been collecting materials in the countries of western Europe for the history of the New York Province of the Jesuits. During his research tour he very kindly remembered the work of the Association's Committee on the John Carroll Papers. Three Carroll letters were copied in the Jesuit archives in Dublin, and in Rome Father Curran established to his satisfaction that the archives of the Jesuit General contains nothing of Archbishop Carroll's composition.

The private papers of the late Frederick Philip Kenkel have been presented to the University of Notre Dame by his daughter, Miss Eleanore Kenkel. Mr. Kenkel was awarded the University of Notre Dame's Laetare Medal in 1930 in recognition of his notable achievements in the fields of Catholic journalism and social work. From 1905 to 1920 he was managing editor of *Die Amerika,* a German Catholic daily in St. Louis, and was the founder and editor until his death of the *Social Justice Review.*

At the instance of the Mariological Society of America the managing editor of the REVIEW made an investigation several months ago of the source materials available in Baltimore for the action taken by the American bishops in the Sixth Provincial Council of May, 1846, relating to the Immaculate Conception as the heavenly patroness of the United States and to the bishops' petition at that time for the definition of the dogma by the Holy See. The results obtained in the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore and of the Sulpician Fathers at St. Mary's Seminary, Roland Park, were quite disappointing. A copy of the sug-

gested agenda which had been sent to all the bishops by Archbishop Samuel Eccleston, S.S., some months in advance of the council for their comments and suggestions was found, and therein the last two among the twelve items listed embodied the subjects mentioned above. But the evidence of the response of the bishops was very meager. Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick of Boston told Eccleston on January 1, 1846, "I am quite glad to hear you have so few points sent in from the different Bps. for the next council. The fewer the better." A few weeks later Bishop Ignatius Reynolds of Charleston informed the archbishop on February 6 that he believed the points suggested by the metropolitan were all that was necessary for the council. Of the extant replies only that of Bishop John B. Purcell of Cincinnati referred to the questions concerning the Immaculate Conception when he stated to Eccleston on January 10 that he thought the country should be placed under the special protection of what he termed, "the Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary *sine labe concepta.*"

Among the rough drafts of more than a dozen reports of committees of theologians at the council on various topics of legislation no report was found on these subjects. Actually the bishops petitioned the Holy See for both the patronage and the definition of the Immaculate Conception before the council closed, and they also asked for the insertion in the divine office and the Mass of the Blessed Virgin of the word "Immaculate" and in the Litany of Loreto the invocation, "Queen conceived without original sin, pray for us." The Roman authorities allowed both the title of Immaculate Conception as patroness of the United States and the insertions requested in the Mass, office, and litany, permissions which were officially sent to Eccleston in letters of Archbishop Giovanni Brunelli, Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda, of September 13, 1846, and of Filippo Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of Propaganda, three days later. But beyond that no evidence was found in the archives of any further correspondence in 1846 on these matters.

One of the earliest advocates in the United States for the patronage of the Immaculate Conception and the definition of the dogma was Father Terence J. Donaghoe, founder of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Dubuque. In the volume, *In the Early Days,* published in a third edition by these sisters in 1943, there is quoted a letter to Donaghoe of May 12, 1846, written from Baltimore by Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque while the council was still in session. Loras remarked, "I received your Notes with thanksgiving. The glorious and Blessed Mother has been to-day the subject of theologians; and if the Bishops do justice to the subject as well as your Notes did, she must have or *we* must have good chance under her protection" (p. 263). But there is no record in Baltimore of any of this, and since that would obviously be

the chief depository for documents relating to the conciliar decrees, it is doubtful that there could be assembled from archives elsewhere in the country sufficient original sources to produce a complete and documented study of this question in a really satisfactory manner.

A brochure entitled *Archbishop John Carroll, Priest and Patriot* by Annabelle M. Melville and carrying a foreword by the Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, appeared in early February. Mrs. Melville of St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg, is the author of the scholarly biography, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton* (New York, 1951). The brochure, which is privately printed, is popular in character, although based on research in both manuscript and printed sources.

Last November there was begun in SS. Philip and James Church in Baltimore, of which the Most Reverend Lawrence J. Shehan, Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore, is pastor, a series of instructions at the Sunday Masses devoted to the highlights in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. The series opened with an instruction entitled, "Religion Our Most Vital National Asset," and will continue through the remainder of the spring and end in late May, when the priests of the parish will speak on the legacy of Cardinal Gibbons as leader of the American Church. It is gratifying to learn that the response of the people to this series of Sunday sermons has been more marked than any given at SS. Philip and James Church in recent years. It would be difficult to find a more effective way of introducing the Catholic people of this country to the splendid history of the Church in the United States, especially in view of the fact that so little time is devoted to the subject in Catholic schools and that the majority of American Catholics are in good measure unacquainted with the story of the role played by the Church in American history.

The annual report of the Secretary of the Commission for the Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians for the year 1952 has some encouraging figures. There are now approximately 420,590 Negro Catholics in the United States who are served by 622 priests, an increase of twenty-five over the number engaged in this work in 1951. The present enrollment of 71,811 students in the colored schools is approximately the same as a year ago. These schools are staffed for the most part by over 2,000 women religious from more than 100 different congregations. The dioceses in which the largest number of colored Catholics reside are in the same rank as in previous years with Lafayette, Louisiana, first, followed by New Orleans, Washington, New York, Chicago, Galveston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore in that order.

Insofar as the Catholic Indians are concerned there are now a reported 104,942 to whom 217 priests are assigned either exclusively or in part-

time ministry; the priests have 500 sisters and eighty-two lay brothers and scholastics, as well as over 100 Indian catechists and lay helpers, to assist them. There are now sixty schools in operation in the Indian missions with a present enrollment of 8,084 pupils. As in past years the Dioceses of Gallup, Rapid City, and Tucson lead the list in the number of their Indian Catholics.

As in 1951 the Archdiocese of Philadelphia led all the American sees with its contributions to the Negro and Indian missions of $71,973.45. The two largest disbursements during 1952 were to the Dioceses of Lafayette, Louisiana, and Savannah-Atlanta which each received $34,000.

At the business meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in Washington on December 28, 1952, Mr. Eugene P. Willging, Director of Libraries of the Catholic University of America, announced that the Mullen Library of the University was formulating plans looking toward the preparation of a complete subject and personal name index to the English translation of Pastor's *History of the Popes*. The establishment of a joint committee consisting of representatives from the American Catholic Historical Association, the Association of Research Libraries, the American Historical Association, and the Catholic Library Association is being considered.

The Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America, working in conjunction with the Catholic University of America Press, is proposing a microfilm edition of the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich* from 1831 through 1914. These contain reports from bishops and other missionaries throughout the United States in support of appeals for funds to the Austrian mission society. The set is of first-rate importance for the history of nineteenth-century American Catholicism. Approximately 5,000 pages are contained in the eighty-four volumes; it is thought that the microfilm edition will run to approximately 250 feet of film and that the cost for a positive film copy will be in the neighborhood of $30.00. The first order has already been placed by Bishop Laurence J. Fitzsimon of Amarillo, Texas, and several other individuals have expressed interest in the project.

A second project under consideration is a microfilm edition of the *Official Catholic Directories* from 1880 through 1899. For the years 1886 through 1896 there were two different directories published, one by Sadlier in New York, and the other by the firm of Hoffman in Milwaukee. Because of this, several alternative proposals are being offered by the University Press whereby subscribers may choose one of three possibilities. The price on this fourteen-reel complete edition will vary between $100 and $135, depending on the choice of alternatives. Further information on both projects may be obtained from the Catholic University of America Press, Washington 17, D. C.

The American Studies Association is an inter-disciplinary group which seeks to study the United States on a more comprehensive scale. By crossing the barriers of history, literature, psychology, sociology, political science, art, etc.—in a fashion that is demonstrated by the contents of its journal, the *American Quarterly*—it fosters an analysis of the country's past that seeks to be more penetrating and hence more enlightening when it is applied to an understanding of the present. On last November 28-29 at the Library of Congress this association conducted an open conference on "Europe's View of America Today." The topics discussed included American studies programs in Europe and contemporary western European attitudes toward American literature, foreign policy, and culture. A separate session was devoted to the America of today as it is seen by European scholars.

The Rockefeller Foundation sponsored a Conference on Legal and Political Philosophy at Arden House, October 31-November 2. Twenty-five legal and political philosophers met to discuss the present state of these disciplines and to exchange ideas on the various lines of research and inquiry which should be carried forward. The group included experts from Great Britain and Canada.

The *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for September is devoted to "The Meaning of the 1952 Presidential Election"; November, to "Murder and the Penalty of Death"; January, to "Puerto Rico, A Study in Democratic Development."

The monthly discussions held under the auspices of the Department of History of the University of Notre Dame have centered on the question of conservatism this year. The series opened in October with a panel discussion of the meaning of conservatism by Messrs. William Shanahan, M. A. Fitzsimons, and Marshall Smelser and the Reverend Stanley Parry. The November discussion centered on Disraeli and the Young Ireland Movement and was led by Messrs. Fitzsimons and Thomas Brown. The December discussion featured the conservatism of Donoso Cortes and the more recent Spanish conservatism and was led by Messrs. John J. Kennedy and James A. Llorens.

The recipient of the 1952 Serra Award of the Academy of American Franciscan History was Victor Andrés Belaunde, delegate of Peru to the United Nations. The honor was conferred at the annual convocation of the academy held on December 30, when Harold E. Wethey of the University of Michigan gave the principal address on "Franciscan Art in Colonial Peru." Dr. Belaunde is the sixth recipient of the Serra Award since it was instituted by the academy in 1947.

The November issue of the Library of Congress *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* describes the process followed by the technical experts of the Library of Congress in restoring the original manuscript of Bernal Diaz de Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*. The 400-year-old manuscript was brought from Guatemala for restoration and has been returned to that country.

The Reverend Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., assistant professor of Ibero-American history in the Catholic University of America, is on leave of absence this semester. He is engaged in research on problems of Peruvian history in the archives and libraries of Spain.

Mr. Arturo Morales Carrión, who formerly taught at the Catholic University of America, has been appointed sub-secretary of state of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. It is expected that Mr. Morales will devote himself to cultural affairs in his new position.

Dr. Alceu Amoroso Lima, the well-known Brazilian writer, has been given leave of absence from his post as director of the department of cultural affairs of the Pan American Union, and Dr. Erico Verissimo, also from Brazil, has been appointed to take his place. Dr. Lima was scheduled to return to Brazil in March, in time for the opening of classes at the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, where he occupies the chair of Brazilian literature.

About forty historians and anthropologists connected with the History of the Americas project of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History met in Havana on January 27-31, 1953, to assess the present status of their work. The meeting was sponsored by the Institute in co-operation with the Martí Centennial Commission of Cuba.

The latest edition of the *Official Yearbook of the Catholic Church in Australia* estimates the Catholic population of the commonwealth at 1,750,000, served by 2,727 priests divided among seven archdioceses and eighteen suffragan sees. Recent figures for the Church in Scotland have likewise revealed steady gains with the total number of Catholics now having reached 753,434, with 1,038 priests engaged in their spiritual care. In fact, the ratio of Catholics in Scotland to the total population is now one in six, and the Archdiocese of Glasgow with its 324,420 Catholics ranks as the third largest see in Great Britain, exceeded in size by only Liverpool and Westminster. The estimated Catholic population of England and Wales, according to the *Catholic Directory* for 1953 is 2,878,400, which is a higher figure than that for the membership in the Church of England, and in England and Wales there are 6,751 priests.

Needless to say, every American Catholic welcomes news of the growth and expansion of the Church in the other English-speaking lands. In terms of a common historical denominator for the English-speaking world, it would be difficult to find a more significant one—apart from the religious faith and mother tongue—than that of the influx of Irish immigrants to all these countries during the century that has elapsed since the great famine of 1845. With that binding link in mind it would not seem too premature to call attention to the fact that we are now only eight years removed from the fifteenth centennial of the death of St. Patrick. Would it not be an appropriate feature of the celebrations which will undoubtedly take place in Ireland in 1961 to hold in Dublin a congress of historians of the Church from all the English-speaking countries where the Irish have settled in large numbers and made a lasting contribution? Such a congress would not only enable the representatives of the various branches of the Universal Church to pay public tribute and gratitude to the spiritual descendants of St. Patrick and all that they have done for the advancement of Catholicism throughout the world, but it might likewise serve to bring into more fruitful and helpful co-operation the church historians of these various national groups speaking the same language. In that sense one is reminded of the vision displayed by Father Bede Jarrett, O.P., in a letter which he wrote to a Dominican confrère in Washington in March, 1918. Jarrett expressed a desire to visit the Dominican House of Studies at the Catholic University of America, and he then remarked, "Nothing can be more beneficial for the English-speaking provinces than to be brought into closer relations with each other . . ." [Kenneth Wykeham-George, O.P., and Gervase Mathew, O.P., *Bede Jarrett of the Order of Preachers* (London, 1952), p. 83]. *Mutatis mutandis,* the same thing can be said for the historians of the Church in English-speaking countries as for the Dominican friars, and a congress at Dublin in 1961, such as that suggested above, might well offer a dignified and practical goal for an effort of this kind.

Miss Elizabeth Frances Rogers of Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, has edited with a note the beautiful prayers composed by St. Thomas More while he was a prisoner in the Tower of London. These sixteen prayers are taken from the saint's work, *A Treatice upon the Passion of Chryste.* Not only are the prayers worth having in themselves, but the little booklet of twenty pages is hand set in Centaur type with the prayers set in Goudy Mediaeval type which make an altogether handsome product. The 250 copies have been printed by hand on Archer paper by Arthur and Edna Rushmore at the Golden Hind Press in Madison, New Jersey. Unfortunately, copies of the booklet are not for sale. As a frontispiece there is carried a reproduction of the Holbein Miniature

of More through the courtesy of the Masters of the Bench of Lincoln's Inn.

The Autumn, 1952, number of the *Innes Review*, the semi-annual journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee, contains four articles, a miscellany section, and book review. Information on this periodical, now in its third volume, can be had by writing to the editor, 195 Buccleuch Street, Glasgow, C3, Scotland.

Among the summaries of theses published in Volume XXV of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* there are several that have special interest for our readers: The Office of *comes sacrarum largitionum* by J. P. C. Kent, Ph.D.; St. Finnian of Clonard by Kathleen W. Hughes, Ph.D.; The Kievo-Pechersky Monastery from Its Origins to the End of the Eleventh Century by Muriel Heppell, M.A.; The Part Played by Aliens in the Social and Economic Life of England during the Reign of Henry VIII by T. C. Wyatt, M.A. Theses Supplement No. 13 (August, 1952) of the *Bulletin* presents a list of theses completed in 1951 at the universities in the United Kingdom and of theses in progress as of January, 1952.

It is generally felt that the authoritarian tradition which plagued French Catholics for more than a century after 1789 is finally dead. Certainly the majority have become reconciled to democracy and have aligned themselves as defenders of the Republic. But positions die slowly in French politics, and the two-volume study *Maurras et notre temps* by the Catholic Thomist, Henri Massis (Paris, La Palatine), reveals that the old *mystique* of *Action française* still survives. Though never adequately explored, it is evident that the condemnation of Maurras and his movement by Pius XI remains as a central point in modern French Catholicism. It infused new life into Catholic Action; it marked the emergence of Maritain as a primary intellectual force; it led Bernanos reluctantly away from monarchism; and it emancipated French Catholicism from a political romanticism that had separated it from the nation. Ironically, all this is repudiated by Massis who measured all contemporary movements by Maurrasian standards.

Professor A. L. Gabriel of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame and Professor Gray C. Boyce of Northwestern University have in preparation Volume VI of the *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*. This will include the *Liber Receptorum Nationis Anglicanae* for the year 1425-1493 (MSS Arch. Nat. H2587 and H2588). The transcription of the documents has been completed and work on the notes and introduction is in progress. This new volume will be published by Didier in Paris and conform in style with the sections of the *Auctarium*

that have already appeared. It is hoped to have the volume ready this year.

Father Hermann Tuechle, successor to Funk and Bihlmeyer as author of the famous *Kirchengeschichte,* has been named professor of church history in the University of Münich.

Ferdinand Lot, until his retirement professor of mediaeval history at the University of Paris, member of the Institut de France, of the examining board of the Ecole des Chartes, and of the faculty of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, died on July 20. He was a remarkably prolific writer, especially in the early mediaeval field of history. A stimulating teacher, he exerted great influence on his students. He was particularly sympathetic and successful in his dealings with foreign students.

Theodore Roemer, O.F.M.Cap., professor of history at St. Lawrence College, Mount Calvary, Wisconsin, died on January 7 just twelve days before his sixty-fourth birthday. Although his death came suddenly, it had not been entirely unexpected as he had been in failing health for several years. Father Theodore had obtained his early education at Capuchin schools in Wisconsin before he began graduate work at the Catholic University of America in 1930, where he majored in American church history under Peter Guilday. After a year spent abroad in gathering materials in European archives he took the Ph.D. degree with a doctoral thesis on *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States, 1838-1918* (Washington, 1933). Father Theodore was best known for his work on the assistance that had been given to the Catholic Church in this country by the European mission societies, having published two studies beyond his doctoral dissertation, namely, *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States, 1829-1839* (New York, 1933), and *Ten Decades of Alms* (St. Louis, 1942). His last major work was a textbook entitled *The Catholic Church in the United States* (St. Louis, 1949). Besides numerous book reviews and short articles which he contributed to journals such as the *Catholic Historical Review* and *Franciscan Studies,* he served as an assistant editor of the latter for some years, as a member of the executive board of the Franciscan Educational Conference. In 1942 he was second vice president of the American Catholic Historical Association, of which he had been a loyal and devoted member since 1933.

Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton, professor emeritus of history at the University of California and former president of the American Historical Association, died on January 30. He was born in Wisconsin in 1870. He took his doctorate in history from the University of Pennsylvania. Before he joined the history department of the University of California, where

he was also the director of the Bancroft Library, he had taught at the University of Texas and at Stanford University. The research for his many volumes uncovered vast amounts of material on the history of our Southwest. Although Professor Bolton was not a Catholic, many of his writings have contributed immeasurably to the appreciation of the role of the Church in the early development of this region. Among the many distinctions he received were honorary doctorates from the Catholic University of America, Marquette University, and St. Mary's College, and a papal knighthood in recognition of his contributions to the cause of Junípero Serra.

Frank Bruce of the Bruce Publishing Company died in Milwaukee on February 22 at the age of sixty-six. Mr. Bruce took his A.B. degree in 1906 at the University of Wisconsin and earned a master's degree from Marquette University in 1910. He was not only one of the most prominent Catholic publishers of the country, but a leading figure as well in the national affairs of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Serra International. In recent years the Bruce Publishing Company has put out an increasing number of books in history, and no member of the firm had a more lively interest in thus promoting historical literature than he did.

Dr. William Brooks Greenlee, the donor of the Greenlee Collection of Portuguese history and literature at the Newberry Library, Chicago, died on March 1. Dr. Greenlee, a well-known industrialist, devoted himself to the history of Portugal and Brazil upon his retirement from business. He was the author of two books and several articles, all dealing with his favorite field of history.

The 700th anniversary of the establishment of the College of Prémontré at the University of Paris was commemorated by a symposium held at the Free Library of Philadelphia on December 30. Among the speakers were Stuart Degginger of Hollins College, James J. John of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton, A. L. Gabriel, O.Praem., director of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame, and Gerard L. Nolan, O.Praem., of Southeast Catholic High School, Philadelphia. The first purchase of property for the college was made on June 15, 1252, by John Rocquigny, Abbot of Prémontré. A history of the institution by James J. John will be published in forthcoming issues of the *Analecta Praemonstratensia,* which is edited at Tongerlo Abbey in Belgium.

St. Michael's College, Winooski Park, has announced a symposium on Orestes Brownson to be held during its 1953 summer session. Brownson was born at Stockbridge, Vermont, on September 16, 1803, and the sesquicentennial of his birth will be commemorated along with the centennial of the Diocese of Burlington.

In June, 1952, the Most Reverend Thomas L. Noa, Bishop of Marquette, set up an historical commission for the cause of the beatification of Bishop Frederick Baraga consisting of the Right Reverend Joseph L. Zryd, Vicar General of the Diocese of Marquette, the Reverend Cyril Shircel, O.F.M., of St. Mary's Seminary, Lemont, Illinois, and Mr. Joseph Gregorich, Baraga historian of Oak Park, Illinois. An auxiliary committee was also formed consisting of the Most Reverend Gregory Rozman, Bishop of Lublana (in exile at Cleveland); the Right Reverend John Zaplotnik, Lindsay, Nebraska; the Reverends Louis Blaznik, Eveleth, Minnesota; Frank Scheringer, Manistique, Michigan; John McGee, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Paul Prud'homme, S.J., Marquette, Michigan; Hugh Bren, O.F.M., Rome, Italy; the Right Reverend William J. Gauche, Cincinnati, Ohio; the Reverends Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., Notre Dame, Indiana; Frac Jaklic, Buenos Aires, Argentina. In 1953 the Diocese of Marquette will celebrate its centennial. The celebration of the centennial will take place under the direction of a committee of which Monsignor John Holland of Menominee, Michigan, is chairman.

An attractive booklet commemorating the centennial of SS. Peter and Paul's Parish, Chattanooga, Tennessee, has been compiled by Father George J. Flanigen, the present pastor. The founder of the parish was the Reverend Henry V. Brown, who first signed the parish register for a marriage on January 25, 1852. The booklet sells for $1.00 and can be secured by writing to Father Flanigen.

Documents: A Group of Documents concerning the Franciscan Missions in Peru, 1532-1569. Ed. by Lino G. Canedo (*The Americas,* Jan.). —Another Document on the "Inconfidencia Mineira." Manoel Cardozo (*ibid.*).—Lefèbre de Bécourt's Despatch on the Battle of Pavón. William S. Robertson (*ibid.*).

BRIEF NOTICES

MAGARET, HELENE. *Giant in the Wilderness: A Biography of Father Charles Nerinckx.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. vi, 200. $3.50.)

The sub-title of the present work is misleading. *Giant in the Wilderness* is a fictionalized piece of writing and as such, in the reviewer's opinion, should not be classified a biography. This statement, of course, goes beyond this particular book and refers to a whole field of writing. Truth in history is difficult enough to find without throwing in fiction to render the task more confusing.

Miss Magaret's favorable description of the zeal, tirelessness, and personal ascetism of this early Kentucky missionary is certainly deserved. In this she has correctly drawn the important features of Nerinckx. The principal criticism of Nerinckx in the past has been directed at the extreme rigorism (some would say Jansenism) he used in the guidance of souls. The author passes over this too lightly. Also, in his conflicts with fellow missionaries, such as the Dominicans and Father Guy Chabrat, these come off second best. In all this the author follows Maes and Howlett. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., has given the other side. The portrait of the giant—and he deserves the title—would have been more complete if these traits had been brought out. Conflicts among laborers in the vineyard are quite common—and quite human. Pioneering, strong-willed individualists like Badin and Nerinckx were far from exceptions to this rule.

Nevertheless, Charles Nerinckx, as the indefatigable ascetic missionary he was, will be better known because of this book. *Giant in the Wilderness* will be read because it is readable, as previous biographies were not. Perhaps, the popular interest thus aroused might provoke the writing of a real biography of Nerinckx, containing also the expected apparatus of footnotes, bibliography, and index, one that is both readable and scientific. (ANTHONY H. DEYE)

Mandements et lettres pastorales circulaires et autres documents publiés dans le diocèse de Montréal depuis son érection. Tomes XIX-XX. (Montréal: Arbour & Dupont. 1952. Pp. 598; 625.)

The Archdiocese of Montreal has recently published these two volumes of documents which cover the years 1940-1950. They furnish a treasure of great richness to whomsoever wishes to study the history of the archdiocese, as well as being highly useful for questions of practical theology, liturgical and disciplinary sciences, soul direction, and parochial administration. These volumes likewise place in a renewed light the works of a noted prelate, the Most Reverend Joseph Charbonneau. A good index spares the student a great amount of time which he might otherwise spend in searching out the material he wishes. (ALPHONSE GAUTHIER)

MCDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS (Ed.). *The Early Histories of St. Louis.* (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation. 1952. Pp. xi, 171. $4.00.)

In his preface the editor declared that this work is not a history of St. Louis but rather a compilation of the first extant sketches about the settlement which

has become the metropolis of Missouri. About a fifth of the book, however, is given over to commentaries on the authors of these historical accounts. Professor McDermott's introduction, interesting in itself, affords perspective for any reader who is unfamiliar either with the Missouri city or with its early historians.

In this collection the fragment of the reminiscences of Auguste Chouteau is of the highest value as original source material. This fifteen-year-old Creole had charge of the party which landed at the site of the present city on February 14, 1764. He and Pierre Leclède Liguest, the head of the trading expedition from New Orleans, are regarded as the founders of St. Louis. The summaries written in the early 1820's by John A. Paxton and Lewis C. Beck will attract the attention of church historians. Both described the brick cathedral of Bishop Louis William DuBourg and accorded special praise to the paintings donated by Louis XVIII of France. Incidentally, these same canvases today are in the "Old Cathedral" of St. Louis. Paxton and Beck discussed the college established by Bishop DuBourg in 1819, an institution which was the forerunner of St. Louis University. Though Father John Rothensteiner agreed substantially with these writers of a century before in his *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928), he did not list either account in his bibliography.

The index is little more than a catalog of proper names, but the collection has been enhanced by the addition of ten illustrations. Not a single error in spelling or typesetting was noticed in the entire volume. (PETER J. RAHILL)

MCDERMOTT, WILLIAM C. AND WALLACE E. CALDWELL (Eds.). *Readings in the History of the Ancient World.* (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1951. Pp. xxii, 489. $4.00.)

In thirteen chapters and ninety-two sections the authors make it possible for the undergraduate student of ancient history to read in English a good selection of the literary sources for ancient history, papyri having been deliberately excluded. The first of the thirteen chapters is an appreciative account of ancient historiography. The authors do not lament and groan that Xenophon and Herodotus do not offer us examples of modern research. While pointing out the limitations of ancient historians, rather they demonstrate that it is still possible to make use of them and to appreciate them for what they did.

The editors have included Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt in their view of the ancient world. This is sound. They disarm the critic of their choices in the following words, "Occasionally we have omitted famous and instructive passages because they are presumably familiar to students or readily available elsewhere." Unarmed, therefore, I would make one general criticism of the selections with two specific examples. There should have been a greater selection of Christian sources. Thus they could have continued the passage from Mark on the death of Christ by giving the Marcan account of the Resurrection, so important for an understanding of Christian faith and behavior. Similarly, Tertullian is certainly as important as his fellow-African, Apuleius.

There is an analytic table of contents, and a table of authors and translations.

The value of the volume would be enhanced by an *index rerum*, where, e.g., such topics as murder and slavery could be made available to the student who wanted a general view of the topic. The selections from the Athenian dramatists are so hopelessly brief and so irremediably out of context that it would be better to eliminate them, just as the editors wisely made no effort to include Plato's *Republic*.

The editors have made available a very good selection of texts. It is sincerely to be hoped that it "will not only guide students to further reading in the rich background of ancient literature, but stimulate their reflection on problems in historiography." (ROBERT WILDE)

MCKEON, RICHARD. *Freedom and History.* (New York: Noonday Press. 1952. Pp. 95. $2.50.)

Richard McKeon, well known for his capable philosophical work on Spinoza and Aristotle, analyzes in this brief volume the semantics involved in various philosophical approaches to freedom and history. Semantics, of course, is not a philosophical system in itself, although on different thinkers from Plato to Carnap, the problem of meaning has exercised a peculiar fascination. Specifically, Professor McKeon discusses what might be called the semantic link between concepts of history and freedom in the "dialectical" semantics of Marx and Hegel, the "logistic" semantics of Hume, and the "problematic" semantics of Mill and Dewey.

The author is obviously familiar with the terrain on which he travels, but his thought is obscured at times by a certain heaviness of style. This reviewer was surprised to find no mention of Berdyaev in the discussion of freedom. (ROBERT PAUL MOHAN)

MILLER, EDWARD. *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely. The Social History of an Ecclesiastical Estate from the tenth century to the early fourteenth century.* [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. New Series, Volume I.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 313. $5.00.)

With this volume Professor David Knowles revives the series of monographs formerly edited by Dr. G. G. Coulton but which has been in abeyance for many years. It is intended primarily as a place to publish the more important mediaeval dissertations produced in the university. Mr. Miller gives the series an auspicious beginning. It is the painstaking study of a great feudal estate which became almost a county palatinate. The author has viewed the subject largely from the legal and institutional angles. He traces the building up of the landed estates of the abbey and bishopric, and with them the fiscal and legal privileges which became so great that all royal officials were normally excluded from the demesne, and the king's law was administered through men appointed by the bishop. Much attention is also given to the legal and economic status of all classes from serfs to barons. Some economic facts are also brought out, especially the growth of buying and selling land by villeins in the latest period

studied. The work is based on original materials, largely on charters, court records, and financial accounts, and it seems to be thoroughly done. It should be noted, however, that the word "social" in the sub-title is understood in a narrow sense, going little beyond the legal aspects already described; more broadly human interests are unmentioned. But the book has real value in its special field, and does credit to both author and editor. (CARLETON M. SAGE)

NOLTE, MARIA E. *Georgius Cassander en zijn oecumenisch Streven.* (Nijmegen: N. U. Dekker and Van de Vegt. 1951. Pp. vii, 254. 7.90 guilders.)

Cassander, a Fleming born in 1513, illustrates one of the many varieties of ecclesiastical reformers that appeared on the soil of the Low Countries. Among the people in the Netherlands and Belgium who concerned themselves with religious questions were those who guided their lives in the light of the *Devotio moderna.* There also were Christian humanists, men who wanted reform but within the bounds of the Church and without compromising her tenets. The sacramentarians, usually humanists, denied the Real Presence and contributed this doctrine to Zwingli. The Anabaptists, taking up this doctrine, flourished in the Low Countries, especially before the fall of Münster. Although Luther's influence was considerable, ecclesiastically there were few Lutherans. Calvinism, on the contrary, won considerable adherents, but only after the war with Spain began. And, finally, the ancient faith continued to be cherished widely.

Into the vortex of this theological partisanship the sickly, gentle, tolerant, and charitable Cassander was drawn. Beginning as a humanist at Louvain, he became a teacher of languages at the seminary in Bruges, soon, however, to take to the road visiting France and Italy, finally settling in Cologne where he died in 1566. He published texts of some of the Church fathers, wrote on liturgical matters, and penned controversial pamphlets. Though faithful to the traditional Church, he held that Lutheranism and Calvinism were two "branches" beside the Catholic, which to him, however, was more definitely descended from apostolic times. He wrote on behalf of reform which was to cleanse the Church of abuses, wanted to keep most pious practices, hoped all moderate Protestants would join with middle-of-the-road Catholics in reform and union. Toward the problem of punishing obstinate heretics he advocated mild treatment, denying to Lutheran and Calvinistic bodies, as also to his own, extensive powers to punish.

This excellent study, written after mature preparation and much reflection, should find a welcome place on the shelves of students who know the need of understanding the secondary actors and writers in the religious confusion of the time. (HENRY S. LUCAS)

POWERS, FRANCIS J., C.S.V. (Comp. and Ed.). *Papal Pronouncements on the Political Order.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 245. $3.50.)

This compilation of papal texts on the political order provides a ready and accurate, if somewhat brief, summary of the principal points of the Church's

teachings in the fields of political and social morality. Father Powers, assistant professor of politics in the Catholic University of America, has selected excerpts from the documents, messages, and allocutions of the Supreme Pontiffs from Leo XIII in 1878 to Pius XII in 1951. The emphasis is on political matters, and only extends incidentally to economic and other social questions. Each chapter is preceded by a short introduction in which Father Powers very nicely sets forth the general background of the matter under consideration and calls attention to the chief points of the papal teaching. The topical arrangement is well done, and contributes much to the value of the book as a reference guide. The following topics are included: the Church and the Citizen in the Social Order; the Origin and Nature of the State and Civil Authority; the Purpose and Function of the State; the Church and the State; Liberty and Law; and International Organization. Knowing the inevitable dangers inherent in the use of fragmentary excerpts, Father Powers has wisely included a table of documents, with references to readily available sources where the entire text may be found. This carefully chosen bibliography of reference works and a list of supplementary readings make this book an altogether useful guide for anyone wishing to understand the fundamentals of the political order. (CHARLES N. R. MCCOY)

PUTNAM, PETER (Ed.). *Seven Britons in Imperial Russia, 1698-1812.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952. Pp. xxxiv, 424. $7.50.)

The imperialism of twentieth-century Russia can be traced very accurately to the days of Peter the Great and especially Catherine the Great through the pages of this book. The seven Britons in Russia were very conscious of its imperialistic policies and the despotism of its rulers. The seven men attained distinction in their individual professions and gave an accurate report of the conditions of the Russian people in the field of their greatest interest. William Richardson, ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg about 1770, strikingly pointed out the insecurity in all walks of life which permeated every action of the behavior of its people. The Russians had no desire to acquire any special skill or material possessions for it would only be confiscated by the greedy lords and overlords.

Another ambassador, Sir James Harris, representing the British throne at the court of Catherine II, makes the reader realize the conflict between the opposing forces of the East and West, the conspiracies, and intrigues of Catherine's rule. Her code of laws, establishment of schools, and the attempts to unify and establish a central government were continuously frowned upon by her courtiers and the clergy of the Greek Orthodox Church, if not scoffed at by western Europe as being inferior. The culture of the Russian people is explained impartially by Archdeacon William Coxe, a traveling tutor to Lord Herbert. He vividly described the inns, peasants, and their huts, the governors, the nobility, recreation, science and art, the laws, commerce, and social culture of the three classes of society.

Invariably all seven Britons attribute the backwardness of Russian society to the unstable government. Not only the tsar and the nobles but even the

bourgeoisie and the peasant had no hope in the future and planned their political, economic, judicial, and moral acts according to the present conditions.

Sir Robert Wilson, a British brigadier with the Russian army during the Napoleonic invasion in 1812, wished to see a powerful imperialistic Russia imbued with the spirit of nationalism to such an extent that she could completely defeat the invaders. He also ascribed the weakness of government to administrative policies, which he tried to overcome. In excerpts from his *Narrative of Events* and *Private Diary* one can visualize the cruelty of the Russian people, the despotism of its rulers, and backwardness of its people as mentioned by Archdeacon Coxe when he says Russia was at least 400 years behind western Europe in cultural development. (LOUIS F. EGECK)

RYNDELL, RAYMOND A. *Cape Horn to the Pacific: the Rise and Decline of an Ocean Highway.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 213. $4.00.)

In what amounts to a brief, albeit scholarly, survey of the maritime history of the Pacific Ocean, Professor Ryndell of Los Angeles State College has here produced the fruits of exhaustive research, although one wishes that his treatment of nearly five centuries of Pacific area history were considerably less sketchy than it is. Judging from his bibliography—which of itself is a notable contribution to the subject—he might well have devoted several volumes, rather than this one brief book, to the matter at hand.

The chapter on missionary enterprise, chiefly in the Hawaiian Islands, is especially significant. Some scholars might disagree that France, in the 1820's, was *de facto* a "Catholic state," however. And the religious community which introduced Catholicity to Hawaii is the Congregation of the Sacred *Hearts* of Jesus and Mary, not the Sacred *Heart* of Jesus and Mary (p. 79). In general, however, the treatment of the early French Catholic missioners in the islands and their incessant struggle against the well-established New England Calvinists there is very well done. The work of the early Mormon missionaries in Hawaii goes unnoted, despite the fact that this group has had a profound effect on non-Catholic religious life in the islands, and has grown more rapidly there than any of the other Protestant sects.

Professor Ryndell has described graphically the early exploratory expeditions which used the Cape Horn route to the Pacific, the development of the trade between New England and the Far East, the trek of gold-seekers to California in the 1850's, the dramatic clipper era which, "for a moment, made the American Merchant Marine the greatest in the world," and the use of the Horn route by the United States Navy during the period before the opening of the Panama Canal. His excellent style renders the work very attractive to the casual reader of history, but it lacks the incisive detail which could be expected as a result of the tremendous amount of research indicated in the bibliography.

It is unfortunate that the notes are hidden away in the appendix; they would have been more useful by far had they been distributed throughout the text. The fifteen pages of bibliography leave little to be desired. It is to be hoped

that further studies will be pursued along the several lines of Professor Ryndell's investigation. That his research will prove to be highly useful to the scholars who will one day delve deeper into this important field of American history is certain. (ROBERT E. CARSON)

SCHUYLER, ROBERT LIVINGSTON AND HERMAN AUSUBEL (Eds.). *The Making of English History.* (New York: Dryden Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 686. $5.60.)

The aim of the editors of this book has been to provide college students with a series of articles on various fields of English history. It is not a textbook, nor is it a collection of documents. There are seventy articles, written by acknowledged scholars in their field, covering a wide range of subjects in political, constitutional, social, and religious history. The subject matter begins with pre-Norman times and reaches up to the British general election of 1945. An attractive feature in the work is that the articles which have been selected are complete units, and most of them have already appeared in historical journals. Such a collection is vastly superior to a mere compilation of excerpts which so often are slanted, and fail to offer a coherent and unified approach to history.

It is quite difficult to evaluate the contributions of the various scholars whose articles have been selected by the editors. The book is divided into eight sections, and in each section there are many selections that are bound to arouse student interest, and which can readily be used as points of departure for further study and reading. There is a fine balance in the choice of readings. In the section dealing with the eighteenth century, for example, we have the challenging viewpoint of Charles M. Andrews on the American Revolution, a reconsideration of certain aspects and phases of the Industrial Revolution by John U. Nef, a sympathetic criticism of John Wesley as a scholar, and several excellent articles dealing with the royal prerogative, the English press, and the political organization of the cabinet. However, each section has an equally well-balanced development.

No collection of articles can take the place of monographs in the field of English history. The editors have designed the book, not as a substitute for monographic literature, but as an aid to small college libraries which are in constant search for interesting and provocative readings for the undergraduate student. *The Making of English History* helps to solve this problem. (AIDAN C. MCMULLEN)

SHAPLAND, C. R. B. (Trans. and Ed.). *The Letters of St. Athanasius concerning the Holy Spirit.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1951. Pp. 204. $6.00.)

In recent years the output of works in patrology has been tremendous. We encounter editions of texts, translations and commentaries, and specialized studies. The present work, which adds another contribution to patrology, is at the same time a good proof of the vast amount of work that remains to be done in this field. C. R. B. Shapland presents for the first time in English the letters

of St. Athanasius concerning the Holy Spirit. This work centers attention on the towering figure of Athanasius and on the turbulent days of the fourth century when attacks were made against the divinity of the Son and the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The attacks by heretics were the occasion for masterful theological productions, and in this instance Athanasius rose to the occasion to give us the first formal treatise on the Holy Spirit.

The preface discusses the relationship between the letters, and the question of the unity of the fourth letter (IV. 8-23 is regarded as a special treatise). Also discussed is the question of the time of the letters and the *Tropici* against whom Athanasius wrote. The writer regards Tropism as a local Egyptian movement, whose supporters were the parish clergy and laymen, and whose name would have perished had it not been for these letters (pp. 32, 34). After this there follows a summary of Athanasius' doctrine on the Holy Spirit, remarks on the text, a synopsis of the letters, and a select bibliography.

The rest of the work is taken up with a translation of the letters. In the original the style of these letters is heavier and less attractive than that of Athanasius' best works (p. 14). Some of that heaviness has gone over into the English, but the heaviness is compensated for by the literal exactness of the English. In the translation section there are copious notes from other writings of Athanasius that throw added light on the meaning of these letters. These notes amount to a veritable corpus athanasianum on the Holy Spirit.

At the end of the work there are indices of words and subjects, of names, of patristic references, and of scripture references. On the whole, this is a very thorough, painstaking, and scholarly production that adds to our knowledge of Athanasius and fourth-century history and theology. (ALFRED C. RUSH)

SHIPTON, CLIFFORD K. *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1726-1730 with Bibliographical and Other Notes.* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1951. Pp. xii, 856. $7.50.)

This scholarly volume is the eighth in a series of John Langdon Sibley's sketches of Harvard College graduates. The current book, dealing with graduates in the years 1726-1730, presents a cross-section of the colonial society from which they emerged. The author devotes special energy to such prominent men as Governor Thomas Hutchinson, Chief Justice Oliver, poets Joseph Green and John Seecomb, and Patriot Governor Trumbull. A varied assortment of theologians, Indian fighters, gentlemen idlers, and merchants receive less complete but revealing attention. The author, having devoted many years to studies of colonial figures, is well qualified for the task. He fulfills the most demanding requirements of biography by painstakingly reconstructing the colonial backdrop against which his subjects played their roles. Dr. Shipton's book is enriched by unpublished material garnered from diaries and private letter collections. Accompanying each biographical sketch is a bibliography of the graduate's writings. The readability of his work is enhanced by skillful and subtle use of the anecdote. Some reproductions of paintings are printed for the first time. Although the book lacks a composite bibliography, it does contain meticulous footnoting as well as a thorough and extensive index. Students of

American colonial history will profit by a judicious reading of the book. (ELIZABETH ANN EDMUNDSON)

SILVESTRE, HUBERT. *Le Chronicon sancti Laurentii Leodiensis, dit de Rupert de Deutz, Etude critique.* [Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3e Série, Fasc. 43.] (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1952. Pp. 422. fr. 250.)

The *Chronicle of St. Laurent, Liège* (*Monumenta Germaniae historica*, VIII), has long been used as a principal source for the history of that abbey and of the Diocese of Liège in the eleventh century. Only occasionally have there been slight suspicions as to its authenticity, and when doubts arose, discrepancies with facts known from other sources were regarded as due to interpolations. This confidence was so strong because the author of the *Chronicle* reveals weaknesses among prelates who were friends of the abbey that are not related by other sources. The author of this dissertation proves "that not a word of chapters 1-36 is from the pen of Rupert, that Rupert did not write a chronicle of St. Laurent, that the *Chronicle* is a thirteenth-century compilation, that its compiler is one person (hence no interpolations), that the remaining chapters (37-50) make up another compilation, written by Adrien of Oudenbosch, of St. Laurent, who died about 1482" (p. 26).

The masterly work has an exhaustive bibliography, an analytical index of mediaeval writings cited, a list of manuscripts used, an index of names, and a detailed table of contents. (JOSEPH N. GARVIN)

SNOEKS, REMI. *L'argument de tradition dans la controverse eucharistique entre Catholiques et Réformés français au XVII^e siècle.* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1951. Pp. xlvii, 560. 550 fr. b.)

Among the theological disputes of the seventeenth century an important place must be assigned to the eucharistic controversy between the French Catholics and Reformers. In attacking the doctrine of the Real Presence the Calvinists, such as du Plessis-Mornay, Claude, and Aubertin, deserted the fundamental principle of the Protestant Revolt, i.e., the sole authority of Scripture, and insisted on the value of tradition. Scholars of considerable merit, they professed to find no proof for the Real Presence in the first six centuries and charged that this doctrine was introduced by Paschasius Radbertus in the ninth century, only to be strenuously opposed in the eleventh by Berengarius of Tours, whom they wish to call a faithful precursor of the religious revolt. The Catholic apologists, such as Cardinal du Perron, the Jansenists d'Arnauld and Nicole, and Bossuet, welcomed this return to tradition. With the aid of further scientific research in patristics by the Jesuits and the great Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur, these apologists were able to combat successfully the Calvinistic charges.

This controversy has been studied in great detail by Father Remi Snoeks, S.J., in the work under review. After a lengthy bibliography (pp. xiii-xlvii)

and an excellent introduction (pp. 1-32), he divides his work into two books: an analytic study of the writings of both Calvinists and Catholics (pp. 35-329) and a critical study of the methodology used by these writers (pp. 333-550). Only a brief index of names is appended (pp. 551-557), where a detailed index of subject matter would have been appreciated. After reading this work, one can write only words of commendation for the detailed and patient research of Father Snoeks, although its very thoroughness—and price—will restrict it more to the specialists in the fields of eucharistic theology and the history of positive theology. (ADRIAN FUERST)

SULLIVAN, RICHARD. *Notre Dame.* (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1951. Pp. 243. $3.00.)

The history of the University of Notre Dame from its founding by Father Sorin down to the latest investigations of the Lobund Institute ambles through this book, and yet it is not history. Richard Sullivan does not intend it to be history. It is rather an informal, relaxed, down-the-years travelogue, illumined with loving caricatures and profiles of the men who molded the grounds, buildings, traditions, and legends that make the substance of the Midwest's great Catholic educational center. The incongruities, eccentricities, and serious work of university life are combined by an able raconteur in a pleasing pattern of essays that show the indomitable will of a Father Sorin, the loneliness and loveableness of a dedicated teacher like Charlie Phillips, the humorous by-products of the serious aeronautical research of Albert Zahm, and the sometimes satisfying frustrations of the teaching life. Mr. Sullivan's affection for his subject is evident but never becomes maudlin as the former student and present professor weaves this tale of his *alma mater*. Much sympathetic insight and knowledge will have been acquired by the time the last page of this light, entertaining book, purposely meandering and digressive, has been reluctantly turned. (PETER E. HOGAN)

TALBOT, C. H. (Ed.). *Ailred of Rievaulx: De anima* [Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Supplement I.] (London: University of London, Warburg Institute. 1952. Pp. 164. 25s.)

This is the second time within a year that we have had the opportunity of welcoming a new book on St. Ailred. Most of his writings that are known to survive were published in the seventeenth century, but a few have remained in manuscript until the present, the nineteenth century having passed them by as their interest is religious rather than historical. Dr. Talbot now publishes for the first time the book on which Ailred was working up to his death. Following St. Bernard the Cistercians gave prominence to the cultivation of an affectionate love of God; and while they severely limited scholastic studies they were willing to study those things they thought would aid their spiritual life. So in the twelfth century a number of them wrote treatises *De anima* in order to supply a strong foundation for their devotion.

Dr. Talbot has done a model piece of editing, and through his introduction, footnotes, and indices he has placed Ailred in relation to the currents of thought of his time. He was intelligent, and aware of new ideas appearing in France; he was also conservative and usually preferred to follow in the established Augustinian tradition, showing no influence of the Greek thought which William of St. Thierry had introduced into the Cistercian stream. But if Ailred writes without the splendor of the *orientale lumen*, he writes with a pre-scholastic humanism and personal charm. Many will wish an English translation of the text had been included; but the long introduction alone is worth the price of the book. (CARLETON M. SAGE)

TATE, W. E. *The Parish Chest.* 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 346. $4.75.)

Students of English local history will welcome a second edition of Tate's admirable guide to the records of English parochial administration. After an introductory chapter tracing the development of parish organization down to the nineteenth century, the author describes first the types of parish chests themselves and then the different classes of documents that may—or may not—survive in them. (He is indignant at the continuing destruction of historically valuable documents through negligence.) The records are divided for consideration into those "mainly ecclesiastical," most important among them the parish registers and churchwardens' accounts, and those "mainly civil," which, as one would expect, are especially rich in material relating to poor law administration. Many typical documents are printed and there are facsimile reproductions of some of the most common types (e.g., an apprenticeship indenture, a vagrant pass, a settlement certificate). A note on handwriting is appended, together with some examples of the eccentricities of seventeenth and eighteenth century orthography and a very useful glossary.

While the author fulfills very adequately his stated purpose of providing the student with practical guidance in the interpretation of parish records, his book will be of interest to many besides parish historians. Mr. Tate has used his wide knowledge of local records not only to describe the technicalities of parish administration but also to illustrate the important role of the parish in the general administrative framework of England. Moreover, the documents printed have been so selected as to provide a vivid insight into many aspects of everyday village life from the sixteenth century to the early nineteenth. For many readers in this country the work will, perhaps, be most valuable as a source book of social history. One carping note might be permitted. The occasional translations from Latin verse into English doggerel are all too often atrocious. (BRIAN TIERNEY)

WILLIAMS, GEORGE H. *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 A.D.* [Harvard Theological Studies, XVIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 236. $2.50.)

Among the topics concerning which altogether too little work has been pro-

duced, especially in English, is the study and analysis of the controversial literature surrounding the investiture struggle. For the most part, present knowledge of this literature is confined to the texts and critical notations in the *Libelli de Lite* in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica.*

A portion of the literature which was almost totally unknown until fifty years ago is a codex, located in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which Heinrich Bohmer gave an important place in his study of the relations of Church and State in England in the eleventh century. Bohmer subsequently edited the codex for the *Monumenta* as a specimen of the English investiture controversial literature. Since the identity of the author was not known, the codex was referred to as the *Tractates* of the Anonymous of York. Although later scholars have analyzed and studied the *Tractates,* Bohmer's original appellation and conclusions have remained substantially unchanged.

In the present work, a re-working of a doctoral dissertation for the Union Theological Seminary, the author has attempted to re-examine the entire question of the *Tractates* and to establish as closely as possible their authorship. After a survey of the literature on the subject, the author presents internal evidence to disprove English authorship. He concludes that the author was actually a Norman, and most probably a cleric of importance, either an archbishop or an archdeacon. The most likely author was either William Bona Anima, Archbishop of Rouen, or his archdeacon, Fulbert.

Having postulated his conclusions as to authorship, the author analyzes the *Tractates,* topic by topic. In each portion is revealed the pro-regal tendency of the writer, in opposition to the teachings of Pope Gregory VII and the reform group. For the Norman anonymous author, the supreme authority in matters temporal and spiritual is the king, who is both *rex* and *sacerdos,* and thereby more royal and priestly than bishops and archbishops. In the mind of the anonymous writer, there is no doubt concerning the correctness of the royal-imperial position in the investiture controversy. Actually in attempting to justify the regal position, the anonymous lays the basis for the absolute monarch of later centuries. Students of the investiture controversy will find George Williams' study a useful contribution to the subject. (ANTHONY F. CZAJKOWSKI)

YOUNG OTIS E. *The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail: 1829.* From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke. (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1952. Pp. 222. $7.50.)

This volume is a well-written account of the activities of the first military escort to accompany the traders on the Santa Fe Trail. After disastrous attacks on the caravans by the Plains Indians in 1828, four companies of the Sixth United States Infantry were assigned to guard the caravans in 1829. They accompanied the traders as long as they were in American territory and then awaited their return from Santa Fe on the banks of the Arkansas. The author has utilized all available documents, relying primarily, as is indicated by the title, on the journal and reports of the commanding officer, Major Ben-

net Riley, which were written by Lieutenant St. George Cooke. The book is scholarly but Mr. Young has managed to make the day-by-day life of the traders and the troops on the trail come to life in a skillful fashion. The account should prove of value not only to the specialist on the Santa Fe Trail but also to anyone interested in the American movement to the Southwest. There is a good introduction describing the events that led to the assignment of the escort. The description of the trek demonstrates how the escort proved the impracticability of using infantry on the trail and the practicability of using oxen for the caravans, both events of importance in the subsequent history of the marches to Santa Fe. *The First Military Escort* is handsomely printed and should be a collector's delight. It has an appendix of documents, an adequate bibliography, and a good index. The map of Santa Fe Trail shows the main points of the march but this reviewer, at least, would have appreciated a more detailed one. (August Raymond Ogden)

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